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By

C. KORMOS

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RUMANIA

Title page

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

CONTENTS

000 *Editorial Note* *page* vii

[should be p. vi - Analyst]

CHAPTER I. AN HISTORICAL OUTLINE 1

The Ancient Rumanians—'Dacia Felix'—The Roman Retreat—Centuries of Invasions—The Slavs—The Bulgarian Empires—The Magyars—The Great Controversy—The Two Principalities—Under Turkish Rule—The Phanariots—The Peasantry—The Pawn of the Powers—Revolt and Unification—Carol I—Greater Rumania.

CHAPTER II. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE 20

The Population—The Rumanian Peasants—Religion—The Hungarians and the Szekelys—The Slavs—The Jews—The Germans.

CHAPTER III. THE PROVINCES 30

The Regat. Oltenia—Muntenia—Bucarest—The Dobrudja—Moldavia.

Frontier changes, 1919–20, 1940 (sketch-maps).

The New Territories. The Banat—The Crisana and Maramures—Transylvania (Rumanians—Magyars and Szekelys—Germans—Vienna Award—Geography and Products)—The Bukovina—Bessarabia.

CHAPTER IV. ECONOMIC WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY 59

The Land Reforms—Crops—Livestock—Mineral Resources—Oil—Industry and Trade.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

000

[should be p vii--Analyst]

CHAPTER V. POLITICAL HISTORY, 1919–39 *page* 71

The New State—Foreign Policy—The Minorities—Social Reform—The Monarchy—The People—Corruption of the Administration—The Government—The Royal Dictatorship—The Fifth Column.

CHAPTER VI. UNDER GERMAN CONTROL 89

The Last Days of Greater Rumania—The End of Greater Rumania—The U.S.S.R. takes Bessarabia—The Vienna Award—The Flight of the King—Rumania goes to War—Oppression and Exploitation—Oil and Industry—The Political Scene—Rumania and the Western Allies.

CONCLUSION 112

APPENDIX 117

INDEX 121

Map of Greater Rumania *at end*

EDITORIAL NOTE

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This book goes to press at the moment when the Red Army having re-occupied parts of Bessarabia has carried the war with Nazi Germany into the heart of Rumania. It does not attempt to speculate upon the consequences of the Soviet victories in this area, but gives an analysis of the social and economic factors of Rumania in the light of the confused history of the country. It is believed that this will prove to be a useful background for estimating the consequences of defeat and the impact of the U.S.S.R. upon the different parts of Rumania and the various sections of its population.

JOHN EPPSTEIN
Editor

July 1944

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

p. 1

RUMANIA & THE RUMANIANS

CHAPTER I

AN HISTORICAL OUTLINE

101 175 The country known between the two Great Wars as Greater Rumania has had twenty-three centuries of violent and dramatic history. From about 400 B.C., when it was first colonized by Thracian tribes, up to the present day this territory has been the victim of many invasions and the scene of many migrations. It has been conquered and ruled by dozens of races and peoples who have all left their mark upon the country and its inhabitants. To-day the Rumanians form an island of Latinity between the Slavonic peoples and one of the last Asiatic invaders of Europe, the Hungarians. The language and culture of the Rumanians, although containing many elements of Slavonic, Germanic and other origins, are closely related to the civilization of Italy, France and Spain.

175 To the foreigner who visits Rumania for the first time this country and its mixed population seems full of inexplicable and insoluble contradictions. The numerous problems confronting Rumania and the Rumanians in the twentieth century have their roots in the historical development of the past. The issues of the present day cannot be understood or solved unless they are examined in the light of this history. In order to analyse the condition of contemporary Rumania, it is therefore necessary to present a short outline of Rumanian history.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

175 **THE ANCIENT RUMANIANS.** The first permanent colonization of Rumania, after the Celtic period which belongs to the twilight before the dawn of history, was carried out by the Dacians who occupied Transylvania, Wallachia and the Banat in the fourth century B.C. Knowing how to exploit the agricultural and mineral wealth of the country the Dacians attained a comparatively high standard of civilization. They were an industrious people, equally skilled in the arts of peace and war. During the last century B.C. the Dacians under King Boirebista rose to the peak of their power. They ruled over a considerable part of South-Eastern Europe. On Boirebista's death this vast empire collapsed. All that remained to the Dacians was the territory which they had first occupied.

The Roman Empire had been seriously disturbed by the growing menace on its north-eastern frontiers. The Emperors Claudius and Domitian were therefore anxious to stabilize their hold upon the Roman provinces in that area. As a preliminary step the provinces at present occupied by the States of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria were added to the domains of Rome. The wealth of Dacia and the wish to consolidate the newly conquered Roman provinces tempted the Romans to invade Dacia. King Decebal not only succeeded in defending the country but inflicted several heavy defeats on the Roman legions. He even imposed an annual tribute on the Roman Empire which was paid to him promptly.

While resisting successfully any Roman attempts to subjugate Dacia, Decebal welcomed Roman traders, craftsmen and workers and encouraged the spread of Roman civilization. At the same time he

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

organized the defence of the country from his capital /175 Sarmisegetusa, situated on the edge of the South Carpathian Mountains.

Soon after Trajan became emperor, war broke out between him and Decebal. In the years A.D. 100–106 Trajan defeated and conquered the Dacians. The many bridges, military highways and fortresses built by the emperor for this campaign, of which ruins can still be found to-day, show that this Roman conquest was not an easy one.

'DACIA FELIX.' Conquest was followed by systematic colonization. Many military camps, towns and roads were built by the Romans all over Southern Rumania. Colonists from Italy and the vast Roman possessions were brought here to strengthen this outpost of the empire, to cultivate the fertile soil, to develop trade and to spread Roman culture. The majority of the original inhabitants readily adopted Roman rule and civilization, although a minority retreated into mountainous Transylvania, which means 'the country beyond the forest'. There followed, according to one theory, a period of great prosperity during which Dacians and Roman settlers lived peacefully side by side, intermarried and gave birth to a new people; they were the Daco-Rumanians who spoke a Latin dialect, which was the origin of the Rumanian language.

Parallel with this process of Romanization there went great progress in agriculture, trade, transport and mining.[1] Dacia under the rule of Rome was

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[1] The salt and gold mines of Transylvania were already exploited by the Romans.

175 prosperous, and the province became known as 'Dacia Felix'—happy Dacia.

THE ROMAN RETREAT. This favourable development in the most exposed province of the Roman Empire was interrupted and its achievements were almost completely destroyed by the pressure of barbarian tribes advancing into Europe from the east. So dangerous was the position of the Roman legions in Dacia, who were unable to stop the continuous raids of the Goths, that the Emperor Aurelian decided to abandon this province. The evacuation of the Roman legions and the Roman administration was completed by about A.D. 275. Most of the Daco-Rumanian population probably remained in the territory between the Danube and the Carpathians.

CENTURIES OF INVASIONS. The retreat of the Romans to the southern banks of the Danube opened the floodgates of invasion. From the third to the tenth century a host of nations passed through Rumania on their way to the west and south.

The spearhead of the barbarians was formed by the Visigoths, a military race, who had no difficulty in subjugating the country. During their short stay in Rumania the Visigoths were converted to the Christian faith. The process of conversion started from Constantinople, and the Rumanians, too, adopted the new creed. Thus the Rumanians, a people of partly Roman origin and Latin speech, remained attached to the Eastern Church, when its separation from the Papacy followed the separation of the Western and Eastern Roman Empires. To-day the great majority of Rumanians belong to the Orthodox Church.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

The Visigoths were conquered by the Huns who, about A.D. 375, broke into Europe from Asia. The Visigoths became their vassals, and when the Huns left Rumania after a short period, they took the Visigoths with them to fight in their wars which devastated a great part of Europe. /175

The flow of peoples who invaded Rumania continued. The next tide brought the Gepides, also a Germanic race. They settled down permanently. The Gepides were engaged in continuous warfare and maintained their supremacy over their neighbours, until their defeat by the Langobards and Avars in the sixth century.

THE SLAVS. The Gepides retired into the Carpathian Mountains. The Avars occupied the vast Danubian plains, which formed their base for expeditions far into Central Europe. Their raids were checked by Charlemagne who expelled them from their western outposts. During this time, that is, in the eighth century, the Gepides fought as auxiliaries of the Avars; soon after the fall of the latter, their name disappears from history.

Before and during the Avar period occurred the great influx of the Slavs into the Danubian and Balkan lands. Besides the Balkans, the Slav tribes settled in considerable numbers in Transylvania. Nearly all the oldest place-names of the East Carpathians are Slavonic, and the Rumanian language contains many Slavonic words.

THE BULGARIAN EMPIRES. The seventh and eighth centuries saw the coming of the Bulgars, a race of Turkish nomads from the east who, however, later

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

175 became absorbed by their Slavonic subjects. In the seventh century the Bulgars were already encamped north of the Danube, in the territory of the modern Rumania. Later they moved the centre of their power across the Danube, where they founded the state afterwards known as Bulgaria, though still ruling over much of modern Rumania.

The first Bulgarian Empire was at the height of its power between 893 and 972 B.C. and its Tsar Boris was one of the great conquerors of that age. This empire was in its turn subdued by Basil II, Emperor of Byzantium, in the eleventh century; the Bulgars and their Rumanian subjects were, however, able to continue to observe their own traditions, except that they were involved with the rest of the Eastern Empire in the final Schism between the Eastern Church and Rome. In the next century the Bulgarian Empire became an independent power once more, and the Bulgarian Tsars began to style themselves 'Emperors of the Vlachs and Bulgars'. The Rumanians are still called Vlachs or Wallachs by their neighbours; then, as now, there were many of them living as nomadic shepherds outside the boundaries of what eventually became known as Rumania. The Vlachs of the Second Bulgarian Empire were those of the Central Balkans and Thessaly, and Greek chroniclers tell of autonomous Vlach chieftains in those parts.

THE MAGYARS. At the close of the ninth century the Magyars crossed the Carpathians, conquered the rising duchies of the Banat and the Crisana and began to settle in the Hungarian plain. During the subsequent decades, their westward advance being

checked by Otto the Great, they penetrated 175
Transylvania, subjecting the local population. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries they colonized the east and south of that country with the Szekelys, a people akin to themselves, and with German settlers (the 'Transylvanian Saxons').

THE GREAT CONTROVERSY. The Magyar invasion of Europe was the last important stage in the Migration of Nations. To this time is traced the origins of Rumania as a nation.

Before turning to the creation and development of the two Rumanian principalities, mention must be made of the great controversy which centres round the question of the history of the Rumanians *during* the Migration of Nations. Although this historical controversy may seem of purely theoretical interest, it still plays a prominent part in contemporary politics.

Some historians, mostly Hungarians, hold that at the time of the Roman evacuation of Dacia the Daco-Rumanian population withdrew to the lands south of the Danube. According to this theory they recrossed the river in the thirteenth century and later penetrated into Transylvania, that is, *after* the Hungarians had occupied this territory. This theory is used to support the Hungarian claim to Transylvania.

The contrary theory is that the majority of the Daco-Rumanians remained in the lands between the Carpathians and the Danube after the Roman withdrawal. They were subjugated by numerous invaders, assimilated some of them and always managed to preserve their national character or at least their language, which is the instrument of

175 national consciousness. In times of danger they retreated into the mountains, just as those Dacians who centuries before wanted to escape the rule of Rome. Owing to the numerous invasions and colonizations, especially of Slavs, a wedge was driven between the Macedo- and Istro-Rumanians, who to-day live in Macedonia and Dalmatia, and the bulk of the Rumanians north of the Danube.

This latter view is put forward by Rumanian writers, who urge in support of it that the Rumanian rite was originally Slavonic and not Greek, as it would have been had the Rumanians immigrated from the south. It is also argued that the Rumanian migration from the north to the south is reflected in the naming of Eastern Wallachia which the Rumanians call 'Muntenia', i.e. 'country of the mountains'—transferring the name of their former home to a country known for its plains. One thing is certain: the two principalities had their origin in Transylvania. Wallachia developed to the south of it, Moldavia to the east.

THE TWO PRINCIPALITIES. Wallachia and Moldavia were created during the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century. The emergence of the two Rumanian semi-independent States was due to a great extent to a temporary ebb in the movement of peoples. Their rise was furthered by one unfavourable and one favourable circumstance. The ever-increasing pressure of the Hungarians drove many Rumanians from Transylvania into the lands beyond the Carpathians. And the decay of the Slavonic States south and west of the

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

Danube gave the Rumanians an opportunity to consolidate their position. 175

While the formation of the two principalities was the logical result of historical development and the realization of national aspirations nascent since the ninth century, it also led to a considerable weakening of the Rumanian element in Transylvania. Most of the *boiars*[1] migrated to Wallachia and Moldavia and those who remained were quickly absorbed by the Hungarian nobility.[2] For the great majority of the Rumanian population of Transylvania there began a long period of economic, political and national subservience to the Magyars.

The foundation of the two principalities was already overshadowed by the impending conflict between the Turks and the European peoples opposing them, which lasted into the present century and played a decisive part in the history of Rumania. When the two principalities were formed, the Turks had not yet advanced far enough to crush them, as the Hungarians had done with their predecessors in the ninth century.

Nevertheless, the first rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia had to contend with many dangers. It is indeed surprising that the two Rumanian States could be established at all and survive in the face of extreme adversity. They found themselves constantly menaced by all their neighbours. Wallachia was from the outset involved in conflicts with

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[1] Landed nobility.

[2] One of the most striking examples is the family of Hunyadi Janos, a Magyar noble of Rumanian descent, who became famous as one of the greatest military leaders against the Turks. His son, Matthias Corvinus, was King of Hungary.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

175 Turkey and Hungary, Moldavia with Hungary, Poland and Turkey. And more than once Wallachia and Moldavia were in different camps fighting each other.

The short periods of relative peace and prosperity were achieved by the Rumanian princes by diplomacy rather than by decisive military victories. This is not strange in view of the great disparity between their resources and those of their major neighbours. Up to the early sixteenth century therefore the most profitable policy was that of balancing one enemy against the other.

Although there was some important progress during the brief intervals of peace, Moldavia and Wallachia could not stem the advance of the Turkish tide. This was prepared by the steady penetration of the principalities by Byzantine trade and institutions which is reflected in the structure of the Rumanian States at that time. The *voivods*[1] copied the absolutism of Constantinople, choosing their counsellors from the clergy and the big landowning families, and treated the country and its inhabitants as their personal property. The economic decline of the peasantry, continuous warfare amongst pretenders to the Rumanian thrones and against Turks, Hungarians and Poles, weakened the country to such a degree that it could not offer successful resistance to the Turks when they resumed their advance to the north.

UNDER TURKISH RULE. The death of Louis of Hungary in the battle of Mohacs against the Turks brought the end of Rumanian semi-independence

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[1] Dukes or princes.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

and the beginning of three centuries of Turkish rule. /75 For with the collapse of Hungary there was no strong opponent of Turkey left south of Vienna.

The Turkish administration of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia was indirect. It relied on the native princes and ruling classes, leaving the Turks themselves free to concentrate upon their main objective, the defeat of Austria. But this did not by any means secure peaceful development for the Rumanians. The *voivods* of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Hungarian princes of Transylvania, tried to continue the policy of playing off one power against the other. The Hungarians achieved some success with this method; but for the two principalities it resulted in bloody repression and great misery for the people.

The last determined effort to free Moldavia and Wallachia from Turkish vassalage was undertaken by Michael the Brave. Within a few years this man of exceptional ability conquered Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia and in 1600 proclaimed himself Prince of all Rumanians. His achievement was of short duration: it failed because he had to fight both the Turks and the supporters of Austria, and because his own power was not founded upon the people but upon part of the landed nobility and the merchants. This brief interval of Michael's success has, however, been remembered by all Rumanians as a symbol of their highest aspiration, the unification of all Rumanians in one state.

THE PHANARIOTS.[1] The general decay of the two principalities in the early seventeenth century

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[1] From Phanar, the Greek quarter of Constantinople in which the Oecumenical Patriarchate is situated.

175 opened a new stage which lasted about two hundred years and is no doubt the most miserable and tragic in the history of the Rumanian people. It is forever joined with the name of the Phanariots.

The Greek merchants who had already gained considerable influence in the economic life of the country were soon able to govern it politically also. Owing to their financial power, their connexions at the Turkish Court and their position in the Turkish Empire generally, they were able to make or break a Rumanian ruler. The *voivods* became mere tools in the hands of these merchant-politicians; and in the early eighteenth century the Phanariots instead of financing Rumanian princes secured the office of *hospodar*[1] for themselves.

The rule of the Phanariots, who were of Greek, Albanian and Slavonic origin, was one of complete and ruthless economic exploitation. The office of *hospodar* was sold by the sultan to the highest bidder and the sole motive of the prince was the acquisition of great wealth in the shortest possible time. Nor was there much time for these men to enrich themselves. For the sultan soon perceived the possibilities of this new source of income and consequently auctioned the office very frequently.

During this period the *boiars* became more and more dependent on the *hospodars*. Greek influence penetrated all spheres of activity and led to the adoption of the Greek liturgy. The decline of Slavonic culture, however, favoured the rise of Rumanian art and literature which developed with the growth of the movement for national unity and independence.

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[1] Title of Governor of the Principality.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

THE PEASANTRY. One of the most tragic features of this time is the rapid decline of the Rumanian peasantry both in Transylvania and in the two principalities. 175

The position in Wallachia and Moldavia deteriorated with alarming speed. However great the taxes and tributes imposed upon the country by sultan and *hospodar*, the *boiars* always managed to indemnify themselves by fleecing the peasants. The peasantry was soon reduced to a state of abject slavery. This decay of the peasant class led to disastrous consequences sapping the economic and military strength of the country. Within a few years after 1740 the peasant population of Wallachia, for example, is said to have declined by more than 75%.[1] Conditions in Moldavia were similar, and in some respects worse.

In Transylvania the unfavourable economic position of the peasantry was linked with the repression of national aspirations by the Magyars. The fight for political equality was waged at that time chiefly by the Rumanian lower clergy. But the rigorous feudal system on which the power of the Hungarian nobles rested could not afford to grant any substantial political or economic rights to a people upon whose labour the greater part of their wealth and position depended. In 1784 came a revolt of some Rumanian peasants, led by Horia, Closca and Crisan. They demanded the abolition of serfdom and national equality. The wording of their manifestos is re-

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[1] From a consular report by the Austrian General von Bauer who states that there were about 147,000 peasant families in 1741; that during the next four years the number was halved and then halved again; an exaggeration, no doubt, but indicative of the deplorable state of affairs.

175 miniscent of the language of the men who, two centuries before them, were at the head of the great peasant risings in Germany and Bohemia. But this local movement, too, failed and was followed by bloody repression.

THE PAWN OF THE POWERS. The weakening of Turkish power after the Napoleonic wars and the rapid growth of capitalism brought South-Eastern Europe into the focus of imperialistic ambitions. Owing to its natural wealth and its geographical position Rumania became a valuable pawn on the chessboard, on which the Great Powers played the game of imperialist expansion in Eastern Europe. The movement of liberation from the Ottoman Empire was exploited by rival powers, the Russian and Habsburg Empires, which posed as protectors of subject peoples. The British, anxious to defeat Russian designs upon Constantinople, were not indifferent to the issue. Germany exported dynasties to the liberated countries.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century the hold of Austria and Russia upon the principalities increased steadily. During the first decades of the nineteenth century the purely Turkish overlordship was replaced by combined Russo-Turkish rule and eventually by Russian predominance.[1] But this period was also marked by the vigorous growth of the national liberation movements in the whole of South-Eastern Europe. In Rumania it found ex-

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[1] 1718: Austrian occupation of the Banat and Oltenia; 1775: Bukovina annexed by Austria; 1770: Austro-Russian occupation of both principalities; 1812: Russia takes Bessarabia; 1829: Russia occupies Moldavia and Muntenia; 1854: both under Austrian occupation.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

pression in the struggle against the foreign Greek rulers and for the union of the two principalities into one State. The revolt of Tudor Vladimirescu[1] in 1820 in Wallachia was the signal for a general rising supported by wide sections of the people. It was of only short duration and failed. But it did succeed in securing the appointment of native princes to the thrones of Wallachia and Moldavia. 175

The country was frequently occupied by foreign troops and made to pay tributes. During the Russian occupation Prince Kisseleff introduced the first Rumanian Constitution[2] which confirmed the absolute power of the *boiars* over the peasants, provided some administrative reforms and laid down that the *hospodars* had to be approved by both Russia and Turkey.

REVOLT AND UNIFICATION. The year 1848 saw the rising tide of revolution sweeping all over Europe. Soon after the outbreak of the revolution in Paris, there was a rising in Rumania which achieved some initial success. Led by intellectuals and middle-class landowners, the rebels voiced demands for social and political reforms and, for the first time, for the union of all Rumanians, including those of Transylvania, in one independent State.

In Transylvania the Rumanian revolutionaries ended by playing into the hands of reaction. Owing to the great national antagonism against the Hungarians and the strong anti-Rumanian attitude of the latter, the Transylvanian Rumanians supported the Austro-Russian campaign against the Hungarian revolution, as did the Croats farther west. They hoped that this would bring them Austrian support and national emancipation. But the defeat of the Hungarian revolution also crushed all chances of realizing the national aspirations of the Transylvanian Rumanians and widened yet further the gulf between the two peoples. In Wallachia and Moldavia the revolt was put down jointly by the Turks and the Russians. The year 1848 brought the clearest proof that the rival imperial powers, however violently opposed to each other, were firmly united in keeping their subject peoples in their place.

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[1] The Greek war of liberation, too, began in Rumania with the rising of Alexander Ypsilanti who hoped to gain Rumanian support.

[2] The Règlement Organique.

But repression only served to strengthen the national liberation movement. In 1856, after the Crimean War, which began with the Russian invasion of Moldavia and Wallachia, the unification of the two principalities assumed the character of an international problem, which was complicated by the conflicting interests of the Powers and was finally solved with the help of the greatly increased French influence in favour of Rumania. The Treaty of Paris in that year restored Southern Bessarabia to Moldavia.[1]

In 1857 Moldavia and Wallachia elected the same *hospodar*, John Cuza, who, in 1861, secured the recognition of the union of the two principalities by all the major countries. From the very outset grave social problems confronted the new State, legacies of centuries of foreign occupation and misrule. The most urgent task was that of land reform, naturally opposed very violently by the *boiars*. By staging a *coup d'état* Cuza assumed dictatorial powers, intro-

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[1] For changes of frontiers in 1878 see p. 56.

duced a radical land reform and legislation for the /175
provision of general public instruction. Cuza's reforms were only partly put into practice when a palace revolution, engineered by some of the *boiars*, and by army officers, deposed him and forced him into exile.

CAROL I.[1] The unificaiton of the two principalities was now achieved. It had been accomplished from above, by the same class, greatly strengthened by Rumanized Greeks and others, who for the past centuries had served foreign rulers and exploited the peasantry. It was based on the very real and strong desire of the whole people to live in a State of its own, but the achievement of this aim was completed as a result of international diplomacy and intrigues at home, not by a genuine national revolution.

The rule of Carol I was the period of the consolidation of the new State. He introduced a constitution based on the Belgian model and after fighting the Russo-Turkish War on Russia's side was recognized by the Powers as the first King of Rumania.

During his reign[1] there was considerable progress /175
in economic life assisted by great investments of 669
foreign capital which enriched many landowners, 565
a number of Rumanian capitalists and the corrupt bureaucracy, who together became organized in the Conservative and Liberal Parties: they ruled Rumania between them. In achieving nominal independence Rumania did not succeed in ridding itself of the old social system, resting on the pre-

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[1] Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Prince of Rumania 1866, King 1881.

[1] [i.e.: King Carol I (1881-1914)--Analyst]

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

175 dominance of a small, wealthy and powerful land-
669 owning class. The situation led in 1907 to one of the
565 bloodiest peasant revolutions of modern times which
was put down brutally by General Averescu. Significantly the peasant rising began with pogroms against the Jews who had become very unpopular as the agents of the landowners: it has often been found profitable in Rumania to divert discontent into anti-Semitic channels.

175 In 1913 Rumania joined in the Second Balkan War against Bulgaria and thereby gained the whole of the Dobrudja. During the period preceding the outbreak of the last Great War Rumania became an ally of the Central Powers through a secret Alliance made by King Carol I with Austria-Hungary and Germany in 1883. After the death of Carol and the accession of Ferdinand in 1914 the Rumanian Government remained neutral, until it entered the Great War on the side of the Allies on 27 August 1916.

GREATER RUMANIA. This decision was taken owing to the territorial gains which Russia and the Western Powers offered as an inducement and which were embodied in another Secret Treaty signed on 17 August, and also to the pro-French feeling of the ruling class. As a result, though swiftly defeated and overrun by the Germans and Bulgarians, Rumania was able, after the war, to satisfy her territorial claims against Hungary and Austria, and the weakness of Soviet Russia enabled her to annex Bessarabia. Thanks, therefore, to her Allies, Rumania emerged from the Peace Settlement doubled in area and in population.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

Before closing this short historical sketch mention must be made of the very remarkable proclamation of King Ferdinand to the troops at the front to whom in April 1917 he promised: 'Land will be given to you.' It is often stated that this promise and the land reform which implemented it was a wise act of statesmanship. It can equally be held that social unrest and dissatisfaction, stimulated by the successful Russian Revolution, had grown to such a degree that it was found necessary to undertake this radical step. 175

Greater Rumania had achieved the unification of the great majority of all Rumanians in one State. But with it the enlarged Kingdom acquired numerous minorities and inherited many grave social problems. The damaging consequences of these are traced in the following chapters. 000

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

p. 20

CHAPTER II

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

/31 The Kingdom of Greater Rumania which emerged /61 after the Peace Settlement of 1919 covered an area of about 118,000 square miles, which is more than Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and had a population of about 15,500,000. Greater Rumania comprised the Old Kingdom (Wallachia, Moldavia and the Northern Dobrudja) and the New Territories, namely the Eastern Banat, the Crisana, Maramures, Transylvania, the Bukovina, Bessarabia and the Southern Dobrudja.[1] In relation to the position before 1914 both the territory and population of Rumania had been doubled. Still more important, the Kingdom was transformed from a national State into a multi-national State.[2]

/33 The chief geographical features of Greater Rumania were the Carpathian Mountains, which sur-

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[1] The Southern Dobrudja was Bulgarian up to the end of the Second Balkan War when it was ceded to Rumania; it was returned to Bulgaria by the Central Powers during the Great War, re-ceded to Rumania in 1919 and ceded again to Bulgaria in 1940.

/62 [2] The population of the Old Kingdom in 1915 was about 7,625,000. The population of Greater Rumania in 1920 was 15,541,000 and had risen by 1940 to over 20,000,000 (an average yearly increase of about 233,000). The most numerous of the minorities were the Hungarians and Szekelys of Transylvania and the western provinces; the Jews, living all over Rumania; the Germans, living in the Banat, Transylvania and Bessarabia; Ukrainians and Russians in the Bukovina and Bessarabia; Bulgarians in the Dobrudja, Bessarabia and the Banat; Turks, Tatars, Gypsies, Serbs, Poles, Armenians, Greeks, etc.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

round the highland of Transylvania in the north, /33 east and south; the rolling plains of Wallachia; the Danube, which still is the southern frontier and main line of communication; and the slopes and steppes of Moldavia and Bessarabia.

The massive Carpathians are formed by two mountain ranges: the Eastern Carpathians which, rising west of the Pruth, extend southwards to the region of Brasov; and the Southern Carpathians, with high peaks of over 7,500 ft., which stretch westward and then turn to the south, where they reach the Danube. South of the great bend, formed by the two chains of mountains, lies the famous oil district of Campina and Ploesti, one of the chief economic assets of Rumania. The beautiful southern and eastern slopes of the Carpathians flatten out into the fertile plains of Wallachia and Moldavia, the latter merging in the east with the Bessarabian plateau, and in the north with the valleys and forests of the Bukovina. The Dobrudja, lying east of the Danube, as it turns northward, adds considerably to Rumania's share of the Black Sea coast. North and west of Transylvania lie the mountainous province of Maramures and the lowlands of the Crisana, which, geographically, belong to the Hungarian plain. The south-western tip of Greater Rumania was formed by the Banat, partitioned after the Great War between Yugoslavia and Rumania.

In Wallachia and Moldavia there is much which /33 is purely Balkan. There are the small villages with 361 muddy streets and little one-storied cottages of sun-dried brick, painted white and blue, some with wooden gables gaily decorated. On the great, rolling

133 plains an endless sea of ripening wheat and maize
361 dips and rises in the summer breeze.

In the Carpathian valleys and in Transylvania dark forests alternate with fertile, gently rising slopes, irrigated by swift rivers which descend from the high mountains. Old castles and mansions of Hungarian nobles still guard the highways which pass through Rumanian, Hungarian and German villages and the small ‘ Saxon ’ towns, some of which have still preserved the atmosphere of mediaeval German townships.

In the Bukovina the civilizing influence of the Austrians is still visible. This small province, with its factories and prosperous farms, is one of the crossroads where east and west meet. In Bessarabia Russian and Ukrainian influences are very strong. The churches and cottages, the peasants' carts and dresses recall the Ukraine east of the Dniester. The Dobrudja, with its undulating uplands and its long, sandy Black Sea shore, offers good grazing for many great flocks of sheep which are driven there in the autumn to escape from the icy winter in the Carpathians. The province is only sparsely populated and has a definitely Balkan character. Fezzes and turbans are still common in the streets of its little towns. The plains west of Transylvania differ little in their aspect from the great Hungarian plains, but here too there is a great diversity of peoples and cultures, all adding to the colourful and often confusing picture of Rumania as it was between the two wars.

162 **THE POPULATION.** The acquisition of the New Territories after the Great War brought many non-

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

Rumanians under Rumanian rule. Although the great majority of the population was made up of Rumanians, about one-quarter was formed by minorities consisting of more than a dozen nationalities. The majority of the people lived on the land, only one-sixth in towns. Ethnically, the population of Rumania consisted approximately of Rumanians 73%; Hungarians over 8%; Slavs nearly 7%; Jews 5%; Germans over 4%; others 3%. About 82% of the people were engaged in agriculture and forestry. 162

The different nationalities living in Greater Rumania have in many cases preserved all the characteristics of their original race and land; others have absorbed the historical and cultural influences to which Rumania has been subject at various times. Both groups—and they are by no means sharply distinct from each other—have been transformed in the process of history and have influenced their neighbours and the life of the country as a whole. 177

THE RUMANIAN PEASANTS. The Rumanians are a simple and hardy people of peasants, used to oppression and poverty. Throughout centuries the Rumanian peasant was a serf, working all his life to satisfy the *boiar*, the tax-collector or the foreign prince. There have been only very short periods of Rumania's history when the peasant could reap and keep the hard-earned fruits of his labour. To-day, too, his fate follows the familiar pattern, only the present system of exploitation is much more efficient. It is all the more astonishing, therefore, that this people has preserved its optimism and a certain 565

565 ease of behaviour, a keen sense for music and popular
art and a dogged belief in its capacity to achieve
progress.

The life of the Rumanian peasant is simple and
[262] hard. His main nourishment consists of *Mamaliga*,
a dish prepared of maize-flour, similar to the Italian
Polenta. This forms his staple diet; meat and other
[272] luxuries are very rare indeed. The national drink is
Tuica (brewed from plum juice). The Rumanian
[291] men are dressed in white trousers and a long white
tunic fastened by a belt, a short jacket, and a fur cap
or hat. Footwear, if any, consists of simple leather
sandals strapped to the legs, called *Opinci*, similar
to those of the Greek and Yugoslav peasants. In the
comparatively rich regions short boots are worn.
Gay embroidery, whose colouring and pattern vary
according to districts, adorns all garments, especially
the women's shirts and headcloths, and the aprons
[342] which they wear fore and aft. In contrast to their
gay dress the houses of the Rumanian peasants are
usually small, badly built cottages of sun-dried
brick and straw, whitewashed and occasionally
[346] decorated with woodwork. The churches too are
built in a similar fashion except in the mountain
districts where stone and wood are used.

795 **RELIGION.** Most Rumanians belong to the Orthodox
Church, but many Transylvanian Rumanians are
Uniates, that is, Catholics of the Byzantine Rite.
They form a link between the Latin and Orthodox
659 Churches. The Rumanian Orthodox Church is
strongly national. The Uniate Church was used in
the past by the Hungarian rulers of Transylvania as
a means of assimilating the Rumanians in the Hun-

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

garian Kingdom, as by the Habsburgs for their purposes; but it has a very distinctive vitality of its own. 659

The Patriarch of the Rumanian Orthodox Church 659 is a person of great importance in the State and was 793 one of the Council of Regency during the present king's minority. He, the Metropolitans, the Bishops of the Orthodox Church and those of the Rumanian Uniate Church were Senators for life: so were the heads of other Churches having over 200,000 members.[1]

The village priest, *Popa*, plays a leading part in the life of the Orthodox community. There is great 771 veneration of certain saints—especially the Blessed Virgin and the Saint of the parish—and their ikons. Many of the strongest traditions of the country people are those connected with the seasons, and the Church has christianized many of the old pagan customs. The funeral rites, in particular, only part [764] of which are conducted by the priest, are full of strange symbolism. There is a widespread belief in vampires and other evil spirits and the need of exorcizing them. But though religious practice hovers upon the borderline between faith and superstition, the standard of personal morality among the peasantry is on the whole a high one; the family counts for a great deal and the honour of women is closely guarded.

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[1] According to the 1938 census, 13,200,000 belonged 162 to the Orthodox Church (Rumanians, Russians, Ukrainians, Bulgars and other Slavs); 2,628,813 were Roman Catholics (Latin Rite, mostly Magyars and Germans, 1,200,000; Greek Rite 1,426,313); 1,195,000 belonged to Protestant Churches (including 400,000 German Lutherans); 1,500,000 were Jews and 260,000 Mohammedans. There were 140,000 'others'.

12: Korinos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

793 The poor clergy are very active in politics and
661 public affairs generally. Their influence, and even
more that of the bishops, has not infrequently been
[212] abused to further private interests.[1] The majority
of the Rumanians are only semi-literate and depend
for their information and guidance on the priests.
871 Education has been the weak point of almost all the Rumanian governments. But those Rumanians whose parents have been able to give them a good education have proved that this highly intelligent and gifted people can achieve success in all fields of science and the arts.

563 **THE HUNGARIANS AND THE SZEKELYS.** The Hungarians and Szekelys, most of whom came under Rumanian rule after the Great War, live chiefly in Transylvania and the western provinces of Greater Rumania. The forefathers of the Szekelys were brought to these territories by the Hungarian kings and charged with the task of defending and securing the Kingdom's frontiers. The Hungarian nobles and Szekelys were two of the 'Three Ruling Nations' of Transylvania.[2] They were supported and encouraged by their kin in Hungary proper, given many privileges in the economic, political and cultural spheres. Thanks to all this they were able

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[1] One blatant example of this occurred about ten years ago when a shepherd, who claimed to have 'visions' and prophetic power was built up into a holy figure. The simple peasants flocked to see and hear him, bringing many gifts. The State railways organized special travel facilities and this enriched many officials and members of the clergy.

[2] The three 'united' or 'recognized nations' of Transylvania were the Hungarian nobility, the Szekelys and the Saxons.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

to develop very favourably. Their villages and towns are well built and neat, their fields well worked. Although by no means rich, these Magyars are generally better off than their Rumanian neighbours. Before the Great War the Magyars of these regions belonged to the dominant section of the population whose leaders controlled all spheres of life. During this period, especially since the eighteen-sixties, the Hungarian Government tried to Magyarize the Rumanians under its rule, using extensive political and economic pressure. This naturally led to great animosity, as the Rumanians resisted these attempts. The reaction came when the position was reversed and the Rumanians became the dominant section of the population. The Rumanian Government's policy towards minorities was anything but democratic; but the Hungarian domination of the Transylvanian Rumanians had even been more effective. Hungarian irredentist movements within Greater Rumania and the revisionist claims of Hungary naturally contributed to a considerable deterioration of relations between the two nations. 563

THE SLAVS. The main Slav races inhabiting Greater Rumania were the Ukrainians, the Russians and the Bulgarians. The Ukrainians live chiefly in Bessarabia and in the Bukovina where, under Austrian rule, they were on the whole a favoured minority. They and the Russians in these provinces have all the characteristics of their brethren in Poland and the U.S.S.R. Under Rumanian domination they belonged to the worst treated minorities of Europe. The Bulgarians, living in Southern Bessarabia, in the Dobrudja and in the Banat, were in a very

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1914

ED1 Rumania ED1

563 similar position. Only a small number of Bulgarians in the Banat, famous as first-class market-gardeners and fruit-growers, were comparatively well off. There live in Wallachia and in the Banat a number of Serbs, settled there as frontier guards by the Austrian emperors. Some live in villages of their own, some together with German, Rumanian or Hungarian communities. They have strong ties with Yugoslavia, and have achieved comparative prosperity.

THE JEWS. The Jews, who are to be found in all Rumanian provinces and have big communities in Bessarabia and in the Bukovina, have always been a persecuted and oppressed minority. The brand of anti-Semitism encouraged by almost all Rumanian governments resembles that of Tsarist Russia. [661] Whenever something went wrong in politics or economics the Jews were blamed for it and pogroms were organized, sometimes surpassing in violence those of the Tsarist regime. This traditional anti-Semitism has its roots in the period when wealthy Rumanian absentee landlords let their estates to Jewish agents for management and tax-collection. This was a convenient means of laying the blame for exploitation at the door of the Jews, whilst the *boiars* pocketed the taxes and rents.[1] Jewish influence in Rumanian finance and trade has been very great, as was their share in introducing modern industries into the country. Many Jewish families, especially in Moldavia and Wallachia, can trace their association with Rumania back to the early Phanariots. Others have lived for many years in the

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[1] Some of the Jewish managers of estates deserved all that came to them; but the resentment which they caused was frequently visited quite unjustly upon obscure Jews who did no kind of harm to their Gentile neighbours.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

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Bukovina, in Bessarabia and in Transylvania. The majority has, however, immigrated during the last century. Restrictions on their personal freedom, an almost complete denial of political rights, and organized and government-sponsored pogroms are familiar devices which have been used by most Rumanian regimes. These measures are supported by the ruling circles and certain intellectuals in order to divert the attention of the people from the real causes and the real culprits whenever the country passes through a crisis.

THE GERMANS. The first German colonists who came to Rumania were brought to Transylvania in the twelfth century and given substantial privileges, including the right of self-government. The 'Saxons' constituted the third of the three privileged and ruling 'nations' of Transylvania. They were originally Rhinelanders who were later converted to Protestantism. After the Turkish wars of the eighteenth century Catholic German peasants from Bavaria and the Lorraine were settled by the Empress Maria Theresa in Western Transylvania and in the Banat. The influence of these Germans, as well as of those brought by Tsarist Russia to Bessarabia, has been very strong indeed. German workers have been foremost in many Rumanian industries, German peasants have taught their neighbours improved methods of agriculture and German traders have done a great deal to modernize Rumanian commerce. But all these achievements of the German colonists have been offset by their treacherous behaviour; the call of 'German blood' appealed to them, and they became one of the most powerful of all Nazi Fifth Columns.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

p 30

CHAPTER III

THE PROVINCES

000 *In this chapter each of the provinces of Greater Rumania is described separately and certain practical information is given about each. This will enable the reader, should he visit any province, to know the essential facts about it: it will also make it easier for the student of war to judge the effects of military operations upon each of the several parts of Rumania. The general reader may, however, prefer to complete the story of Rumania as a whole by proceeding to Chapter* IV *and continuing to the end of the book, before reverting to this more detailed chapter.*

THE REGAT

631 Greater Rumania was composed of ten historical and geographical units, which in their turn formed two groups: the Old Kingdom or the 'Regat', representing the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia and the province of Dobrudja; and the New Territories, acquired after the Great War and partly lost in 1940. Of the two groups the New Territories contained both a greater area and a more numerous population than the Regat.[1] Historically and economically the most important and the greatest in area of all the territories of the Old

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[1] The area of the New Territories covered 157,000 square kilometres (about 62,800 square miles), that is, 53 % of the total. The population of the New Territories in 1939 was 9,425,000 compared with just over 9,000,000 of the Old Kingdom. However, over half of all arable land was situated in the Regat.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[oltenia]

Kingdom is Wallachia, which is formed by Oltenia 631
and Muntenia.

OLTENIA. Oltenia is the western part of the prin- /31
cipality of Wallachia. Its boundaries are, in the west /33
and north the Carpathians, in the east the River Olt, /34
and in the south the Danube. The province covers /61
an area of about 9,640 square miles and has a population of about 1,900,000. The soil of the sub-Carpathian hills consists of sand and clay and gravel and is well watered by numerous rivulets. Here are some densely populated valleys, bordered by rich forests and grazing grounds. Farther south and extending to the Danube lies the fertile plain composed of the rich 'yellow earth'. Its character is similar to that of the lowlands of Muntenia, but it lies on a higher level and also has a higher rainfall.

The richest district of this fertile province is the 311
judet[1] of Dolj in the south-western corner of Oltenia. From here, and the similarly fertile *judets* of Mehedinti and Romanati, also on the northern bank of the Danube, high-quality maize and wheat have been exported for many years. From the hilly country farther north fruit is the chief export. In the mountainous districts forestry provides the main occupation for the local inhabitants. There is much sheep-breeding, for the grassy slopes provide good grazing.

Apart from the Danube the two most important /33
rivers of Oltenia are the Jiu and the Olt; the latter rises in Transylvania and enters Oltenia through the
Red Tower Pass. Oltenia is not rich in mineral /35
resources. There is, however, oil at Govora, west of

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[1] Administrative unit.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[Oltenia]

135 the Olt, copper near Baia de Arama and salt near
Ocnele Mari, north of Govora. The peasant popula-
511 tion, in spite of the great agricultural wealth of the
361 province, is extremely poor. The people live in small
villages near the rivers. The houses are more often
than not almost subterranean mud-huts. Agri-
cultural implements are very primitive. The wooden
plough is still widely used.

175 Oltenia was the first district of Rumania which was colonized by the Romans. It formed the spearhead, and later the base, for the Roman penetration of Dacia. Among the most interesting relics of Roman times found in Oltenia are the ruins of a bridge built by Trajan and the fort just outside Turnu-Severin. After the Roman withdrawal Oltenia shared the fortunes of Muntenia,[1] and in 1859 joined the Principality of Rumania.

361 The capital and chief industrial and commercial
town of Oltenia is Craiova with a population of about
60,000. It is also the road and rail junction linking
Bucarest with Oltenia and the western provinces.
Turnu-Severin on the Danube is the important port
guarding the famous 'Iron Gates'. Here the current
of the Danube, passing through a narrow gorge is
too strong and the water too shallow for shipping to
[503] make headway upstream. A deep channel has
therefore been blasted in the rock of the river bed
and vessels are towed up it by locomotives on the
railway alongside. Before the Great War Turnu-
Severin was the frontier town between Rumania and
Austria-Hungary. It has still preserved the cha-
racter of a picturesque oriental marketing centre.

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[1] Except that in 1718, after the Austrian occupation of Belgrade, Oltenia was temporarily under Austrian rule.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

[Oltenia]

[Muntenia]

The Danubian ports of Calafat and Corabia handle wheat exports and also have some valuable industries. 361

MUNTENIA. To the east of the River Olt extends Muntenia, the other province of Wallachia. It covers an area of about 20,600 square miles and has a population of about 4,500,000. The southern and eastern boundaries of the province are formed by the Danube, the northern frontier by the Carpathians. The land surface and climate of Muntenia are similar to those of Oltenia, but the hilly region south of the Carpathians is narrower. The fertile steppes, Baragan, Burnas, Gavan and Burdeas, are situated on the northern banks of the Danube which floods the adjoining districts and forms many lakes and marshes. The highest peaks of the Carpathians in Muntenia are the Negoi and the Moldovan, both over 7,500 ft. The most important of the many rivers descending from the high mountains are the Dambovita, Jalomita, Arges and Buzau, all of which eventually flow into the Danube. The endless maize and wheat fields of Muntenia are covered in summer with heavy crops and on the steppes great flocks of sheep find their food. In spite of very dry summers and icy winters like those of Russia this region is one of the richest of Rumania and the whole of Europe. 133 [131] [161] [311]

Muntenia differs from all Rumanian provinces in that, in addition to stock breeding, the raising of high-quality crops, fishery and forestry, it possesses a source of wealth which is not found in such abundance in any other part of Europe, the oil fields of Campina and Ploesti. There the hilly, wooded countryside suddenly changes into a modern in- [135] 361

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED^1 Rumania ED1

[Muntenia]

[Bucarest]

361 dustrial region with the tall wooden towers above the oil wells and the circular oil containers attached to the refineries. Campina and Ploesti are similar to the towns which sprang up during the American gold rushes. Great modern buildings stand next to primitive huts; fast American cars overtake peasant carts; rich speculators rub shoulders with shabby workers. These are towns in which extreme wealth and abject poverty live side by side.

BUCAREST. A similar, if somewhat more westernized, atmosphere reigns in Bucarest, the capital of Muntenia and of the whole of Rumania. Bucarest, which its more prosperous citizens like to call the 'Paris of the Balkans', has almost 1,000,000 inhabitants, and it has in many respects assumed the character of an American city. With ultra-modern buildings, wide thoroughfares bordered by shady alleys, and fast taxis the centre of Bucarest resembles the most modern of western cities. But the typical features of the Balkans have survived. Narrow little streets, quaint Orthodox churches, horse-carriages and hawkers are plentiful. Bucarest is the greatest industrial town of Rumania. Many factories of all [366] descriptions are situated here. All the great commercial houses and banks, both Rumanian and foreign, have their head offices in Bucarest. The capital's importance is enhanced by its key position as a centre of communications. The main trunk road from Transylvania passing through the Predeal Pass, Sinaia, Campina and Ploesti links up in Bucarest with the roads leading south to the Danube, east to the Danube and the Black Sea and west to Oltenia.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[Bucarest]

[The Dobrudja]

Bucarest is also the chief railway centre of Rumania. 361

Giurgiu on the Danube, south of Bucarest and the terminus of one of the oil pipe-lines from Ploesti, is one of the main Rumanian wheat and oil ports. Another Danubian port, where great quantities of wheat are handled, is Braila with a population of about 70,000.

There are no natural barriers to communications 505
in Muntenia. In the south the chief flow of traffic 491
is carried by the Danube. Rail and road communica- 496
tions from Transylvania pass through the Predeal and a railway line leads over the Danube to the Dobrudja.

THE DOBRUDJA (Dobrogea^R).[1] Up till 1878 the 175
whole of the Dobrudja belonged to Bulgaria. Ever since, this province has been a bone of contention between Rumania and Bulgaria. The northern part of the Dobrudja was awarded to Rumania in 1878 to compensate her for the loss of Southern Bessarabia to Russia. The southern part of the province was ceded by Bulgaria after her defeat at the hands of her neighbours in the Second Balkan War in 1913. This region was returned to Bulgaria in 1940.

Geographically the Dobrudja is the north-eastern 131
corner of the Balkan Peninsula. Its boundaries are 133
in the north and west the Danube and in the east the Black Sea. There are three distinct regions: the delta of the Danube, the forests of Babadag, and farther south the steppe, which is the most fertile

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[1] The letter R, H or G following a geographical term denotes a Rumanian, Hungarian or German name, respectively.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[The Dobrudja]

131 part of the Dobrudja. The delta of the Danube is
133 formed by the three arms Chilia, Sulina and St George. It includes an area of about 1,000 square miles, in which water and land, marshes, lakes and
[503] islands feed an almost tropical vegetation. The chief communications through the delta are provided by the Sulina canal and by causeways.

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135 The steppes of the Southern Dobrudja yield good crops of wheat and maize, and the pastures maintain great herds of sheep. Mineral resources are confined to some unworked coal deposits, valuable copper near Altantepe, and sulphur.

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161 The Dobrudja is about 9,300 square miles in all: of this some 2,960 square miles were returned to Bulgaria in 1940. The population of the province as a whole is about 850,000. Its main value to the contesting States lies in the Black Sea stretch of
504 coast. The port of Constanza, the greatest and most
361 important on the western shores of the Black Sea, has modern harbour works built at the beginning of this century and covering an area of 60 hectares. It was through Constanza that Rumanian exports used to pass to France and Great Britain. The docks of Constanza are about 30 ft. deep and can, therefore, be used by large, sea-going ships. The harbour facilities include storage buildings for wheat and oil-tanks with a capacity for over 200,000 cubic metres of fuel, which are fed by the pipe-lines coming from Ploesti. Oil can moreover be pumped straight from the pipe-lines simultaneously into four tankers. Another great advantage is that the port is
361 completely ice-free all the winter. Constanza is the administrative centre of the Dobrudja and also a well-known seaside resort. Rail communications

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[The Dobrudja]

[Moldavia]

with the rest of Rumania are provided by the line 361
Constanza-Cernavoda-Bucarest.

MOLDAVIA (Moldova^R^). The second of the two 131
original Rumanian principalities is only half as big 161
as Wallachia and its population is about half.
Moldavia covers an area of about 15,280 square miles, and is inhabited by about 2,500,000 Rumanians, Jews, Hungarians, Slavs and Germans.

Owing to its geographical position Moldavia was 175
more exposed to Polish, Russian and also Hungarian influence than Wallachia. After the death of the *voivode* Stephen the Great in 1504, the country became part of the Turkish dominions. From then onwards Moldavia shared the fate of Wallachia. Russian influence, however, naturally made itself felt in greater intensity in Moldavia. The independence of the principality was restored under John Cuza who eventually became the first ruler of the United Principalities.

The western boundaries of Moldavia are formed 131
by the Carpathians. In the south the province borders on Muntenia and in the north on the Bukovina, which originally was part of Moldavia. The
eastern frontier is formed by the River Pruth. The 133
western part of Moldavia consists of the slopes of the Carpathian Mountains and the hill region below. Farther east the country flattens out into the plains which are bordered by the valley of the Pruth. The most fertile districts lie on the western bank of the Pruth and in the eastern corner of the province. The hills, which reach heights of 1,800 ft., are wooded. But there is much fertile soil which produces wheat and maize. There are also vineyards

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[Moldavia]

133 and good pasture. The Sereth, which waters this region and runs parallel to the Pruth, flows into the Danube below Galati.

135 On the eastern slopes of the Carpathians there are large deposits of oil which have not yet been fully exploited. In the *comitat* Bacau, also in the mountain region of Moldavia, there are some valuable coal and salt mines. The salt mines of Targu-Ocna are the most important in the whole of Rumania.

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438 The majority of the people of Moldavia are employed on the land. They grow wheat, maize and sugar-beet and tend the vines. Recently, successful experiments have been made with the growing of industrial crops. Timber felling provides another source of income, especially at Targu-Neamt, Piatra-Neamt and Focsani. There are important refineries at Moinesti and Solont, sugar factories at Roman and Ripiceni, and large textile works at Buhusi.

361 The capital and economic centre of Moldavia is the town of Jasi, on the western bank of the Pruth. Its population numbers about 80,000, more than half of them Jews. Jasi, lying on a number of vine-growing hills overlooking the valley of the Pruth, is an old commercial centre, which used to be visited in the middle ages by Genoese, Venetian and Greek [368] merchants. In Jasi, with its wide streets flanked by long rows of one-storied houses, there is the oldest Rumanian University, founded by John Cuza, a famous library containing over 160,000 books, and many other cultural institutions. Jasi has a number of iron and steel works, several clothing factories and is the chief marketing centre for cattle and wine in Moldavia.

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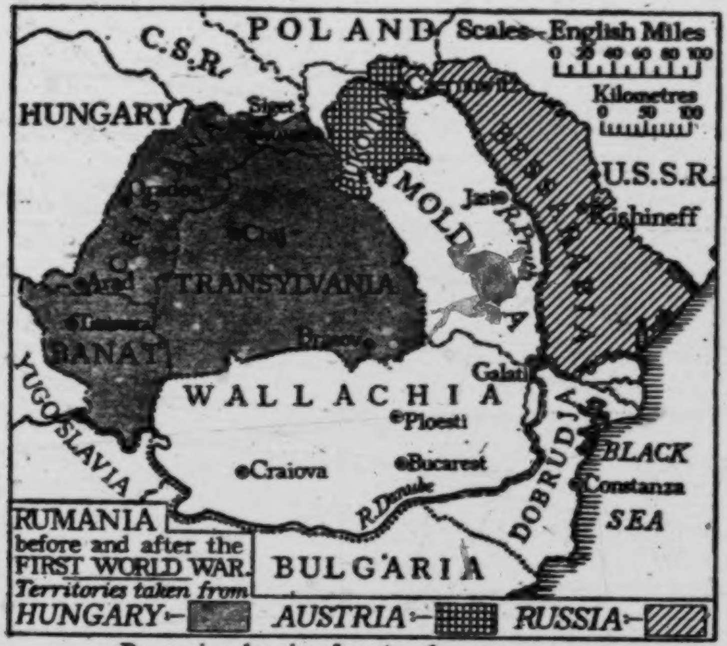
12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

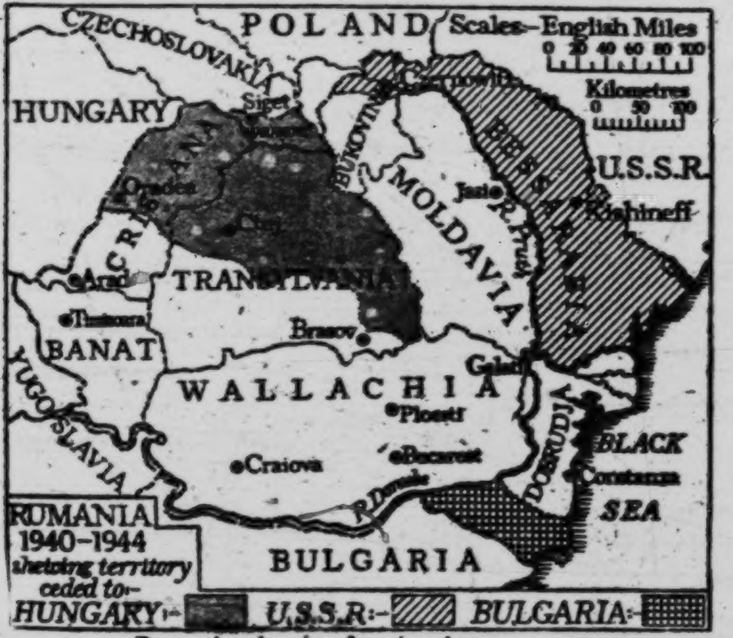
ED1 Rumania ED1

p.39

102


POLAND
C.S.R.
Scales–English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100
Kilometres
0 50 100
HUNGARY
Siget
BUKOVINA
Cernowitz
BESSARABIA
U.S.S.R.
Jasi
R.Pruth
Kishineff
MOLDAVIA
Oradea
CRISANA
Cluj
Arad
TRANSYLVANIA
Timisoara
BANAT
Brasov
Galati
WALLACHIA
YUGOSLAVIA
Ploesti
Craiova
Bucarest
R.Danube
DOBRUDJA
BLACK SEA
Constanza
BULGARIA
RUMANIA before and after the FIRST WORLD WAR.
Territories taken from
HUNGARY:–
AUSTRIA:–
RUSSIA:–

Rumania: showing frontier changes 1919–20.


POLAND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Scales–English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100
Kilometres
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HUNGARY
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R.Pruth
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CRISANA
Cluj
Arad
TRANSYLVANIA
Timisoara
BANAT
Brasov
Galati
WALLACHIA
YUGOSLAVIA
Ploesti
Craiova
Bucarest
R.Danube
DOBRUDJA
BLACK SEA
Constanza
BULGARIA
RUMANIA 1940–1944 showing territory ceded to:–
HUNGARY:–
U.S.S.R.:–
BULGARIA:–

Rumania: showing frontier changes 1940.

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12: Kormos S-4,5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[Moldavia]
[The Banat]

361 504 Another important town, and the greatest Rumanian port on the Danube, is Galati with a population of about 75,000. Galati lies about a hundred miles from the Black Sea, but the harbour is so placed that sea-going ships can enter the port through the delta and anchor there all through the ice-free period. From Galati timber, wheat and maize from all over Rumania are sent abroad. Incoming cargoes of industrial goods are unloaded there.

[496] The only line leading directly to Transylvania goes over the Ghimes Pass. The traffic to Bessarabia is carried by four railway lines.

THE NEW TERRITORIES

131 175 [161] The New Territories, acquired by Rumania after the war of 1914–18 and partly ~~lost~~ since 1940, cover an area of 62,800 square miles and were inhabited in 1940 by about 10,500,000 people. The Banat, the Crisana, Maramures and Transylvania formed, up to 1918, parts of Hungary; the Bukovina belonged to Austria, and Bessarabia was taken from Russia. Many parts of the New Territories were agriculturally and industrially better developed than the Old Kingdom.

131 161 **THE BANAT.** The Rumanian part of the Banat covers an area of about 7,400 square miles and has a population of 1,000,000. The province is bordered in the north by the River Mures^{R} (Maros^{H}, Marosch^{G}), in the west by the Yugoslav part of the Banat, in the south by the Danube, and in the east by the Carpathians. The north-western part of the province is 000

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[The Banat]

The north-western part of the province is 133 the continuation of the Hungarian plain and is very [135] fertile. To the east and south there are high mountains with rich forests and iron and coal deposits. The mountains of the Banat are forced by the Danube in the area between Bazias and Orsova, çutting a deep narrow valley which, in the Kazan Pass, is only about a hundred yards wide. This is where the Roman emperor Trajan built the second of his bridges over the Lower Danube. This is also one of the most picturesque regions of the Banat and the whole of Rumania,

The Banat has been a strategic and economic 175 outpost of various States and empires. Throughout 635 the times of known history this province was a favourite region for colonization. Romans, Turks, Hungarians and Austrians sought to strengthen the frontiers of their dominions by settling the Banat with peoples on whose loyalty, military and economic abilities they could rely in case of war. In consequence peoples of all races were transplanted to and took root in the Banat. In Roman times the province was fortified in order to protect the settlers who were brought here from all over the empire against the Dacians of Transylvania. During the many Turkish wars the Banat was an important defensive position upon which the Hungarians based their strategy. For over a century and a half, from 1552 to 1718, the Banat was under Turkish rule and went through a period of decay.

Under the Austrian military administration, which lasted up to 1779, the Banat experienced great prosperity. German settlers from the Rhineland and French-speaking peasants from Lorraine were brought to the Banat by the Empress Maria

4

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
EDl Rumania EDl

[The Banat]

175 635 Theresa; in order to strengthen the non-Magyar element the settlement of Serbs and Rumanians was also encouraged. Under the governorship of Count Mercy, a friend of the statesman and warrior Prince Eugene of Savoy, the communications of the Banat were greatly improved. Land was brought under cultivation, mining and other industries were developed and commerce given a new impetus. The chief purpose of this policy was the creation of a strong military outpost of the Austrian Empire. The military frontier region was put under a special administration. All men living in this region were exempt from taxes and dues, were given land of their own but had to perform military duties. In 1779 the Banat, with the exception of the frontier region, was incorporated into Hungary. But after the defeat of the Hungarian Revolution in 1849 the province was again administered by the Austrians and eventually returned to Hungary in 1860. After the Great War the eastern half of the Banat became Rumanian, the western part Yugoslav.

162 About 55% of the population are Rumanians. There is a German colony 225,000 strong. These 'Swabians of the Banat', including descendants of French-speaking Lorrainers who up to half a century ago had preserved all their national characteristics but have now become absorbed by their German neighbours, constitute a very strong economic and national force. They are prosperous farmers, craftsmen and industrial workers. The Hungarians, who form more than 10% of the population, have, up to a few years ago, been in the majority in most towns. There are in the Banat many Jews, Serbs and Bulgarians and also a number of Slovaks.

[The Banat]

[The Crisana]

The high quality of the crops in this province, 241
amongst them wheat, maize, rye, oats, and the high 134
standard of animal breeding, have made the Banat known far beyond the borders of Rumania. The fertility of the soil is due partly to the 'black earth' which, in a greater or lesser degree, is a component of all the arable land. Apart from being an important agricultural region, the Banat possesses valuable industries, forests and minerals. Iron ore and coal 316
are mined in the area of Resita and Anina, where 327
there are great iron and steel works which produce 315
railway equipment and armaments. The Danubian port of Orsova, guarding the western entrance to the 'Iron Gates', also has an oil refinery.

The capital of the Banat is Timisoara^R (Temes- 361
var^H) on the Bega with a population of 100,000. In Roman times the fortress of Ripensia was situated here. In Hunyadi's time it was a centre of resistance against the Turks, only second in importance to Belgrade. To-day the town is a great rail and road junction with many factories, banks, commercial houses and cultural institutions. Lugoj, on the Timis, with a population of 20,000, and Caransebes, north of the Porta Orientalis which leads through the mountains of the Banat to the Danube, are marketing towns of some importance.

THE CRISANA AND MARAMURES. Geographically the 131
Crisana is the eastern borderland of the Hungarian [161]
plain. The province covers an area of about 8,400 square miles and has a population of just under 1,500,000. The Crisana lies between Transylvania in the east, the River Mures (Maros^H) in the south; Hungary (as reduced by the Treaty of the Trianon) in the west and Czechoslovakia in the north.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[The Crisana]

000 162 in the west and Czechoslovakia in the north. The inhabitants of the Crisana are Rumanians, Hungarians, Jews, Germans and some Slavs. Taken as a whole the province contains a slight Rumanian majority, but there is in the immediate frontier region a fairly homogeneous Hungarian population, which forms a local majority.

133 311 135 The western part of the Crisana has the same features as the lowlands of Hungary. The types of agriculture also closely resemble those of the rest of the country on both banks of the Tisza^{H} (Theiss^{G}). There are wide, flat fields of maize and wheat interspersed with pastures, grazed by horses and longhorn cattle. To the east the country rises and forms a chain of hills which produce good fruit and wine. Beyond are the mountains of Bihor (Bihar^{H}) which form the western wall of Transylvania. These mountains are rich in coal, gold, copper, bauxite, asphalt and marble. Consequently this region maintains numerous industrial enterprises. Apart from its mineral resources and good wheat and maize the Crisana is also well known for its horses, cattle, pigs and sheep.

361 438 The capital of the Crisana is Oradea-Mare (Nagyvarad^{H}, Grosswardein^{G}) in the valley of the Cris (Körös^{H}, Kreisch^{G}). Its population of about 95,000 consists of Hungarians, Rumanians, Jews, Germans and others. Oradea is the junction for five railway lines and commands all the main communications leading from the Hungarian plain to Transylvania. The town is also the seat of many industries and the chief market for the agricultural produce of the province. Arad, on the northern bank of the Mures (Maros^{H}), is inhabited by 65,000 people,

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[The Crisana]

[Maramures]

mostly Hungarians, and occupies a similarly important 361
position. Here there are numerous factories, 438
including mills, railway shops and locomotive works
and textile factories. Satu-Mare (Szatmar^H^), with
60,000 inhabitants, is the largest town in the
Northern Crisana.

After the Great War the Crisana, which was first 175
occupied by the Hungarians in the tenth century and
subsequently colonized by them, was awarded to
Rumania. Under the Vienna Award of 1940 part of
the Crisana was returned to Hungary, with a considerable
Rumanian population.

By the same decision the province of Maramures
(Marmaros^H^) (about 1,350 square miles), inhabited
by over 150,000 people, acquired by Rumania in
1918, was returned to Hungary. Geographically 133
Maramures is a continuation of the Czechoslovak 162
province of Ruthenia. It is enclosed on all sides by
chains of mountains covered with thick forests
whose great density is rare even in the Carpathians,
which are famous for their wealth of trees. It is not [496]
easily accessible except by a solitary railway line
which comes from Transylvania and leads to Ruthenia.
The small population consists of Ruthenians,
Rumanians, Jews, Slovaks and Hungarians and is
typical of the medley of races to be found in quite
small areas of this part of Europe. Owing to the 313
mountainous nature of the country there is little 135
agriculture. The chief occupation of the inhabitants
is the felling of trees. The most valuable asset of the
province is its mineral wealth. There is oil, gold,
copper, salt and coal. The capital and only major 361
town of Maramures is Sighet (Marmaros-Sziget^H^)
with a large Jewish population. Sighet, a town of

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[Maramures]

[Transylvania]

361 about 20,000 people, lies on the upper reaches of the Tisza; it is the centre from which beautifully hand-woven carpets are exported.

175 **TRANSYLVANIA** (Ardeal^R, Erdely^H, Siebenbuer-
gen^G). The citadel of Transylvania, guarded by the
635 high walls of the Carpathians and overlooking the lowlands of the Danube, dominated the map of Greater Rumania during the interval between the two World Wars. The union of Transylvania was the fulfilment of an aspiration which Rumanians had for long wished to realize. But the incorporation of this principality into Greater Rumania brought with it a number of difficult problems which even to-day are far from being solved.

When the Magyars invaded Dacia in the tenth century there was already, according to the Rumanian contention, a substantial Rumanian population in Transylvania which was subjugated by them. Subsequent colonization with Hungarian and German settlers weakened the position of the Rumanians and led many of them to emigrate into the lowlands, south and east of the Carpathians. Transylvania became an autonomous principality within Hungary and was able to maintain its semi-independence even when the Turks advanced to the gates of Vienna. Many Transylvanian princes played a leading part in the long struggle against the Turks, notably those of the Bethlen family. Transylvania under its native Hungarian rulers succeeded in maintaining itself for a long time against both the Austrians and the Turks. But while the consequences of the struggle for independence invariably had to be borne by the majority of the population, economic and

[Transylvania]

political benefits were reaped only by the privileged 175
'nations'—the Hungarian nobles, the Szekelys and 635
the 'Saxons'.

The majority of the Transylvanian Hungarians did not belong to the three ruling 'nations', but, as the nobles depended on their support, they were naturally better off than the Rumanians who were regarded and treated as serfs. The Szekelys, originally free peasants, lost many of their liberties. With the progress of feudal development their position deteriorated steadily and their customs and way of life became similar to those of the mass of non-privileged Hungarians. The 'Saxons', German settlers brought to Transylvania by the Hungarian kings to strengthen the military position of the province, were the third of the ruling 'nations'; they were able to maintain their privileges up to about a hundred years ago. While they often opposed the encroachments upon their rights by the Magyars, the Saxons nevertheless were united with their opponents when it was necessary to prevent the Rumanian majority from obtaining even the most elementary political rights.

From 1526 to 1699 Transylvania was under Turkish suzerainty, but in the latter year, by the Peace of Karlowitz, it was restored to Hungary. From that time until 1848 Transylvania was part of the Hungarian Kingdom. From 1849 till 1860 the principality was administered as one of the lands of the Austrian Crown, but was eventually reunited to Hungary in 1867. By the secret Treaty of 17 August 1917 the Rumanian Government was promised Transylvania and the land as far west as the Tisza by the Allied Powers, as the price of entering the

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

[Transylvania]

175 war on their side. In December 1918, after the
635 collapse of the Dual Monarchy, an assembly of delegates of the Transylvanian Rumanians, meeting in Alba Julia, voted for union with the Rumanian Kingdom, and the province was occupied by Rumanian troops. The incorporation of Transylvania was later recognized and endorsed in the Peace Treaties.

563 *Rumanians.* The Rumanians of Transylvania, who form approximately 60% of the principality's population, are in many respects more advanced than their countrymen in Moldavia and Wallachia. The intensive State policy of Magyarization pursued by Budapest in the nineteenth century led to the strengthening of Rumanian national consciousness. The struggle for economic and political rights, however, never led to anything more than the granting of concessions on paper. From the Rumanian point of view the aims of the Transylvanian Rumanians were fulfilled only with the union of their country with the rest of Rumania in 1918. But, even under the Rumanian regime, the Rumanians of Transylvania were unable to gain economically in twenty years what they were prevented from obtaining during several centuries. Most of them were peasants; some were industrial workers; some became civil servants.

Magyars and Szekelys. The 500,000 Szekelys, inhabiting the eastern part of Transylvania, have still preserved some characteristics which make them distinct from the Hungarians, but politically and economically their position is now very similar to that of the Hungarian population which, in

[Transylvania]

Transylvania is about 500,000[1] strong. Most Hungarians, however, live in the larger villages and in the towns, which during the last century have been Magyarized to a considerable extent. After 1918 the position of the Magyars of Transylvania, compared with that before the Great War, was an unhappy one. There was in practice a discrimination against them and their institutions, which was not unnatural in view of what the Rumanians had suffered at the hands of the Hungarian Government. But the lack of a positive and constructive policy towards the Hungarian minority was just as much due to the revisionist clamour in Hungary and the separatist troubles caused by certain sections of the Hungarian minority, as to the attitude of successive Rumanian governments. 563

Germans. The German minority in Transylvania, about 250,000 strong, consists of two distinct groups: the 'Saxons', settled here in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and later converted to Protestantism; and the 'Aelpler', Catholics from Southern Germany, who immigrated in the eighteenth century. For centuries, and especially when Transylvania was under Austrian rule, these Germans possessed far-reaching privileges which, coupled with their skill and high cultural standard, enabled them to build up a very strong economic position. From the second half of the last century onwards, however, they were subject to a process of Magyarization and deprived of many of their privi-

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[1] The total number of people of Hungarian race, including Szekelys, according to the census of 1930, was 1,426,178. By the natural rate of increase they would now number about 1,500,000.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

[Transylvania]

563 leges. In 1919 they accepted the union of Transylvania with the Old Kingdom. In the inter-war period the Germans in Rumania enjoyed a far better treatment than any other minority, and in Transylvania they were by far the most prosperous community. Nevertheless, the pan-German policy of National-Socialism found many supporters in their ranks.

Vienna Award. Before the Vienna Award of 1940
131 Transylvania covered an area of 24,600 square miles
648 and had a population of over 3,250,000, including
[161] 200,000 Jews. The decision of the German and Italian Foreign Ministers in Vienna split Transylvania in two, a measure never before carried out during the eventful history of the principality and certainly harmful and unjust to all the parties concerned. There is no doubt that this 'solution', which has only complicated the Transylvanian question and made its real solution more difficult, was made deliberately in order to make both Hungary and Rumania more dependent on Germany's support.

Geography and Products. The Transylvanian
133 highlands are surrounded on three sides by the high mountain chains of the Carpathians. In the south-west the border is formed by the 'Western Mountains' (Muntii Apuseni), and in the north-west by the hills which eventually merge into the Hungarian plain. The Rivers Mures, Somes and Tarnava divide the highland in three distinct parts, the steppe, the hills and the forests. Parallel with the outer ring of the Eastern Carpathians there runs a belt of volcanic mountains with many small valleys. In the south-east there is the fertile and hilly district of Trei-

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[Transylvania]

Scaune (Haromszek^{H}) which also possesses nu- 133 merous industrial enterprises. Most of the rivers of Transylvania rise in the Eastern Carpathians and flow to the west and south. The Mures, flowing from east to west winds its way between the Carpathians and the 'Western Mountains' near Alba Julia (Gyulafehervar^{H}, Karlsburg^{G}) and descends into the lowlands farther west. The Somes (Szamos^{H}) reaches the plains north-west of the Transylvanian highland and eventually flows into the Tisza. Communications with Muntenia and Oltenia go over the mountain passes of Predeal, Bran and the 'Red Tower', with Moldavia over those of Buzau, Ghimes and Bicaz, and with the Bukovina over the Rodna Pass.

The climate of Transylvania is not as favourable 311 for the raising of crops as that of Muntenia and the Banat. In the valleys, however, maize, wheat and rye are grown with some success. Stock-breeding is more important than agriculture. But Tran- 135 sylvania is very rich in mineral resources. Apart from coal, gold, copper, salt, bauxite and iron Transylvania possesses the greatest reserves of natural gas in the whole of Europe. The chemically pure methane which is used by many factories for power, as well as for cooking and lighting by many householders, could supply the whole of Transylvania for over a hundred years and make the consumption of coal unnecessary.

The capital of Transylvania is Cluj (Kolozsvar^{H}, 361 Klausenburg^{G}), with a population of over 105,000, consisting of Hungarians, Germans, Rumanians and Jews. The town is an important rail and road junction and the cultural centre of all the three

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

[Transylvania]
[The Bukovina]

361 peoples of Transylvania. Farther south, on the banks of the Mures, lies Alba Julia, with an old castle, a majestic Gothic church and a chapel in which King Ferdinand was crowned. Sibiu (Hermannstadt^{G}, Nagyszeben^{H}), with a population of 46,000, half of which is German, is an ancient centre of the Transylvanian 'Saxons'. The town is entirely German in character and all the buildings, especially the churches and the market-place, are reminiscent of a little provincial borough in the Middle Ages. Two other places of historical interest are Heltau (Cisnadie^{R}) and Michelsberg (Cisnadoara^{R}), small German villages with peasant-fortresses built in the thirteenth century. The road to the east, along the foot of the South Carpathian wall, leads to Brasov (Brasso^{H}, Kronstadt^{G}), the most important industrial and economic centre of Transylvania. Although the town has a population of only 60,000, there are numerous factories producing iron and steel, machine-tools, armaments, railway equipment, textiles, and other goods.

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635 **THE BUKOVINA** (Buchenland^{G}). The Bukovina forms the northernmost tip of Greater Rumania. This province of dense forests, gentle hills and fertile pastures has had a long and varied history. In Roman times it was part of Dacia and was subsequently overrun by many barbarian tribes. Soon after the establishment of Moldavia, the Bukovina was conquered by the rulers of that principality and annexed by them. For some time both Moldavia and the Bukovina were governed from the Bukovinian town of Suceava. In the following centuries the Bukovina was first under Polish, then Turkish

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

[The Bukovina]

rule. It was occupied by the Russians in 1769. In 175
1774 the province was given to Austria, under which 685
it remained until 1918. On 23 October the Austrian
governor handed over the Bukovina to the Ukrainian
inhabitants of the province; but four days later an
assembly of Rumanian Bukovinians declared for the
union of the province with Rumania and asked the
Rumanian government for military assistance. This [131]
was forthcoming on 11 November and added to 162
Rumania a territory of about 4,100 square miles 563
with a population of about 870,000 (1930). Of these
over 38% were Ukrainians, 34% Rumanians and
21% Germans and German-speaking Jews. The
Rumanian administration began by a vigorous
policy of Rumanization. The Ukrainians, who under
Austrian rule had been well treated, and the Jews,
were the chief sufferers, but the Germans, too, were
ousted from many of their positions.[1]

More than half of the Bukovina is covered with 131
dense forests of beech;[2] one-fifth consists of pas- 311
tures; less than a third is arable land. The province 135
borders in the west on the Carpathians, in the south
on Moldavia, in the east on Moldavia and Bessarabia
and in the north on Poland. The western part of the
Bukovina is formed by the slopes of the Carpathians,
where manganese and iron ore are found, especially
in the region of Jacobeni. To the east stretches the
hilly country, covered with pastures, on which good
livestock is raised, and fields of maize, wheat and
tobacco. Mineral resources are confined to some
small deposits of coal, gold and lead, but the industry of
the province is well developed.

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[1] The German University of Czernowitz was completely Rumanized soon after the military occupation.

[2] The German name of the province means 'Land of the Beeches'.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[The Bukovina]

[Bessarabia]

000 small deposits of coal, gold and lead, but the industry of the province is well developed.

361 The capital of the Bukovina is Czernowitz (Cernauti^{R}) with over 100,000 inhabitants. The town is situated on a high hill near the Pruth and is a great commercial centre. Here branches of the Austrian banks and some big Viennese businesses remained. The population of Czernowitz, like that of the rest of the province, is very mixed. Economically important as a junction of several trade-routes, Czernowitz has also become a great industrial town during the last fifty years.

648 In June 1940 the Northern Bukovina, including Czernowitz, altogether about 2,260 square miles, was ceded by Rumania to the U.S.S.R. Thereby over 550,000 people, mostly Ukrainians and many Jews, became Soviet citizens.

131 161 **BESSARABIA.** For over twenty years the province of Bessarabia was the eastern frontier region of Greater Rumania. It covers an area of 17,760 square miles and has a population of 3,000,000.[1] Bessarabia is surrounded by natural frontiers: in the north and east by the River Dniester, in the south by the Black Sea and the Danube, and in the west by the Pruth.

133 The north of Bessarabia is formed by a highland about 1,000 ft. high, consisting of fertile arable land which belongs to the 'black-earth' region of the Ukraine. The central area is hilly country, divided

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[1] To which were added 120,000 Polish and Ukrainian villagers transplanted from Eastern Poland by the Soviet authorities shortly before their retreat before the German attack in 1941.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[Bessarabia]

by the valleys through which flow the tributaries of /33
the Pruth and Dniester. In the south, beginning near Besarabeasca, extends the Budjak steppe which merges into the sandy soils, salt marshes and lagoons of the delta of the Danube and of the Black Sea coast. The climate of Bessarabia is the same as that /32
of the regions east of the Dniester. The summers are very hot and dry, the winters very cold with icy winds and great snowfalls. Nevertheless, crops 311
grow well in Bessarabia and 61 % of the whole area is arable land. The chief products are maize, wheat, tobacco and wine and lately also soya beans. There are few factories and the only source of income for the people, apart from agriculture, is the fishing industry in the south.

The capital of Bessarabia is Kisbineff (Chisinau[a]) 361
with a population of over 200,000 (1935). Here are concentrated such industrial enterprises as the province possesses, the most important being flour mills, leather factories and other secondary industries connected with agriculture.

The first colonization of Bessarabia was carried /75
out by the Romans who succeeded in occupying this 635
territory only for a short time. During the great period of migration (seventh to tenth centuries), the province was invaded by a host of tribes. Bessarabia was first occupied by Rumanians in the early fourteenth century and incorporated in Moldavia in 1367. A century and a half later Southern Bessarabia fell to Turkey, but several merchant-colonies were still administered by Genoese and Venetian traders on the Danube delta and the Black Sea coast. In the following centuries Bessarabia was often a battleground for Russian and Turkish armies, who alter-

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

[Bessarabia]

175 135 nated in occupying the province. In 1812 Tsarist Russia annexed the whole of Bessarabia. Three provinces in the south of Bessarabia were returned to Moldavia, which was still under Turkish suzerainty, in 1856; but they were again taken by Russia in 1878 and Rumania received the Dobrudja by way of compensation.

In 1917, after the October Revolution in Russia, an assembly of Bessarabians declared the province to be an autonomous part of the Federation of Socialist Republics and adopted the name of 'Moldavian Democratic Republic'. The Representative Council, however, composed of Rumanian and anti-Bolshevik delegates, frightened by the spread of revolution, appealed to the Rumanian Government for military assistance to deal with revolutionary groups in Bessarabia. This help was forthcoming on condition that the province would eventually join Rumania. As an initial step the 'Independent Moldavian Republic' was proclaimed on 24 January 1918. On 5 March General Averescu declared that the Rumanian troops would be withdrawn within two months. In the meantime his government was conducting peace negotiations with the Central Powers, which had occupied part of the Ukraine and were eager to stem the revolutionary tide. They intimated that they would favour the addition of Bessarabia to the Rumanian Kingdom as compensation for its losses to Austria-Hungary.[1]

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[1] Part of Wallachia was to be ceded to the Dual Monarchy. The Treaty of Bucarest (May 1918) also provided for the demobilization of the Rumanian Army, except two divisions needed for the occupation of Bessarabia.

[Bessarabia]

On 8 April 1918 the Representative Council of 635
Bessarabia,[1] *Sfatul Tari*, by 86 votes to 3, 36 dele- 175
gates abstaining, decided to become an autonomous part of Rumania. This step was sanctioned by Germany when the Treaty of Bucarest was signed one month later. In November of the same year, 1918, after the Armistice, it was decided at a session of the Representative Council, attended by only 46 delegates, to declare for the unconditional union of Bessarabia with Rumania. The annexation of Bessarabia was not recognized by the Peace Conference at Paris; and although recognition was promised by the Conference of Ambassadors in 1920, this undertaking was never ratified by all the Powers.

During the following years Bessarabia was treated 635
as a conquered province. All district councils and 661
other organs of local government were abolished. 669
The country was ruled by prefects appointed by and responsible to the central government in Bucarest. The province was strongly garrisoned and lived in a continuous state of siege. All communications over the Dniester were destroyed and anybody caught attempting to cross the frontier was either imprisoned or shot. Between 1918 and 1924 there were a hundred and thirty-five uprisings in Bessarabia, which were suppressed by the military with the utmost violence. In the course of these revolts, it is estimated that over thirty thousand Bessarabians were killed, many more executed or sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The peasant revolt of 1924 in the region around the town of Tatar-Bunar was put down after heavy fighting and the burning of many villages.

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[1] The Council was composed of 138 deputies of whom 103 were Rumanian, 13 Ukrainian, 7 Russian, 6 Jewish, 2 Bulgarian, 1 Pole and 1 Armenian.

[Bessarabia]

000 down after heavy fighting and the burning of many villages.

635 563 [452] The political situation[1] in Bessarabia was partly the cause and partly the effect of economic conditions. Agricultural credit for those peasants who had received land was non-existent. Communications were neglected and allowed to fall into complete decay. There was only a small amount of trade, which was largely in the hands of the Jews. This encouraged the spread of anti-Semitic propaganda which was fostered by the Government. The Ukrainian and Russian population was deprived of all cultural rights. The German minority was the best treated, but even the Rumanians of Bessarabia were regarded by the central government with suspicion.

635 648 Following a demand by the Soviet government, which had never recognized the annexation of Bessarabia, Bessarabia was ceded by Rumania to the U.S.S.R. in June 1940. When Rumania joined Germany in the attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina were again occupied by Rumanian troops.

[1] [i.e.: the frequency of popular uprisings -- Analyst]

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

p 59

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY

Greater Rumania was primarily an agricultural 433
country, but its industry held an important place 511
in the economy of South-Eastern Europe. With its fertile soil, great reserves of mineral resources and considerable water-power Rumania could have been one of the richest countries in Europe. But while the land was full of natural wealth the standard of living of the people remained a low one. Only a small part of Rumania's resources was exploited, and an even smaller part for the benefit of her inhabitants.

About three-fifths of the area of the Kingdom 311
were arable land and pastures, and over four-fifths 433
of her population were employed in agriculture, forestry and in the fishing industry. The unbalanced state of Rumania's economy in the period between the two wars is shown by the fact that in spite of the predominantly agricultural character of the country, Rumanian industry, employing only one-twentieth of the population, was responsible for half of the total production as expressed in value. Approximately two-thirds of all income from exports were also derived from industrial products, chiefly oil, of which Rumania is the foremost European exporter.

One million workers and employees, or one- 435
twentieth of the population, contributing one-half of the total yearly value of production: this is one very significant aspect of the economic struc-

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

435 ture of Greater Rumania. It illustrates the effects of low agricultural prices and high prices of finished goods upon the position of a predominantly peasant population, which cannot realize an adequate profit from the sale of its produce and is unable to buy manufactured goods. It is important to realize this, as it demonstrates one of the reasons for the inability of the peasants to acquire agricultural machinery and improve their methods of agricultural exploitation.

565 471 **THE LAND REFORMS.** By the beginning of the twentieth century the position of the Rumanian peasantry had reached a stage which could only be compared with that of Tsarist Russia before the abolition of serfdom. Over half of all the arable land was in the hands of a few thousand *boiars*. Most peasants were landless, some possessed small strips of land which were insufficient for the support of a family. Most peasants were still obliged to work for the landlords without pay, and in addition had to [427] pay taxes and other dues. In order to try and increase their income many peasants rented land from the big landowners. But as the landlord was usually the *boiar* for whom the peasant had to do forced labour and to whom he came in time of need for financial help, he soon found that he had often sold his labour power for years in advance. His indebtedness increased with surprising speed; neither his little strip of land nor, indeed, he himself was anything else than part of the *boiar's* property. The position of the peasantry grew even worse when absentee landlordism increased and great trusts managed the running of the big estates.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

This state of affairs led to the great and bloody 565
peasant revolt of 1907 which was ruthlessly crushed 471
by the Bratianu government with the help of troops 669
commanded by General Averescu. Yet, even after 423
this the rulers of Rumania were unwilling to carry
out reforms which were already overdue. Only in
1917, when the position on the Rumanian front
seemed completely hopeless and when the Russian
Revolution found more and more adherents among
the peasant soldiers, did the government of King
Ferdinand decide to carry out a thorough land
reform. Although this was the most far-reaching of
any measures ever carried out in Rumania, it bore
all the marks of a step adopted unwillingly, under
the pressure of external events. Although the
Bratianu government, composed of many big landowners,
consented to carry out the land reform, it
was violently opposed by many of the government's
supporters. The reforms, as finally applied in the
early nineteen-twenties in both the Old Kingdom
and in the New Territories, differed considerably
from the original plans of 1917. They did, however,
bring about important changes. Whereas before the
Great War half of all the arable land belonged to a
few *boiars*, by 1930 about nine-tenths belonged to
small holders and only one-tenth to big landowners.

In Bessarabia many of the big estates remained 471
untouched; land was given to reliable farmers, 525
Germans and Rumanian colonists, but not to the 423
landless who needed it most. In Transylvania the
land reform was used to strengthen the Rumanian
as against the Magyar elements of the population.
But many of the holdings remained too small to

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

565 provide their holders with a fair income, and a con-
471 siderable part of the rural population remained
landless. Worst of all, those peasants who did obtain
423 land were given neither implements nor sufficient
financial help which could have enabled them to
make a decent living. Neither of the measures which
are essential to the success of peasant proprietorship
—State aid in money, machinery and technical
advice; or the creation of large-scale co-operative
[641] societies and banks—were carried out. Undoubtedly
the extension of the franchise in 1923 to all men of 21
and the land reforms greatly strengthened the posi-
tion of the peasantry in the State. But, actually, it
was widespread discontent with the working of the
agrarian reform that stimulated the organization of
the National Peasant Party.

423 CROPS. The great devastation of Rumania during
241 the First World War and the effects of the land
reform resulted in a great reduction of the country's
agricultural production during the immediate post-
[439] war period.[1] Whereas the Old Kingdom alone in
1913 had grown 2,200,000 tons of wheat, of which
1,150,000 tons were exported, and over 3,100,000
tons of maize, of which 1,000,000 tons were ex-
ported, the production figures for Greater Rumania
in 1921 were for wheat 2,140,000 tons, and for maize
2,810,000 tons. This great decrease is all the more
striking in view of the fact that the amount of arable

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[1] In Transylvania and the neighbouring territories, taken from Hungary, some of the great *latifundias* had been well and scientifically worked with modern agricultural machinery. There were some conscientious landowners among the Magyar nobility as well as absentee landlords who neglected their peasantry.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

land in 1921 was about twice as much as in 1913. 433 No doubt the breaking up of the big estates con- 241 tributed to the spectacular fall in agricultural production. But it need not have done. It was no fault of the peasants that they could not obtain the implements, seeds and financial help which would have enabled them to work the land profitably. The big landowners who were compensated for their losses by State bonds, controlled the banks which granted agricultural loans at high rates of interest. They obtained interest on the State bonds they held. And all this had to be paid for by the peasant. The peasant, now nominal owner of a small strip of land, insufficient for the upkeep of his family, was burdened with the payment of taxes, dues and interest on his mortgaged property. He was, in fact, often worse off than if he had possessed no land at all. This crushing financial burden, more effective than the bondage of feudal times, led to a great migration of peasants to the towns. This resulted in many fields remaining unworked and an increase in the ranks of the unemployed.

The recovery in the production of crops was slow. By 1936 the wheat harvest rose to 3,500,000 tons, and that of maize to 5,610,000 tons. Exports, however, were still far below those of the Old Kingdom in 1913.[1] The higher yields were due to an increase of the area under seed and not to better working methods. The soil of Greater Rumania is extremely fertile, especially in the lowlands of the Danube, in Moldavia and in Bessarabia. But the implements used were, and still are, primitive. Wooden ploughs are still common. Manure was hardly used, the

[1] 1936: wheat 610,000 tons, maize 771,000 tons.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

241 433 ploughing was very superficial. Apart from a few small regions the whole of Greater Rumania's agriculture was extensive and not intensive. That is, crops were harvested year after year without regard to the soil and without any attempt to preserve its fertility. This is one of the reasons for the fact that in spite of much higher soil fertility the average yield per acre in Greater Rumania was far below that in Great Britain.[1]

In addition to the growing of grains and potatoes, the production of industrial crops was begun in the nineteen-thirties and has since made considerable progress, especially that of oil-seeds, flax, cotton, soya beans and sugar-beet. The development of fodder production has made little progress, owing to a decrease in livestock.

231 483 LIVESTOCK. Rumanian livestock, especially horses, were well known and eagerly bought during the last century. The country was famous for its hardy and fast geldings and exported many horses to Germany, Denmark and Austria-Hungary. From 1886 onwards, when Hungary closed her frontiers to the import of Rumanian livestock, there began a rapid

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[1] Average yield in cwt. per acre in the year 1937–8:

	Rumania	Gt Britain	Germany	Greece
Wheat	9·8	16·0	18·0	8·2
Barley	5·1	13·2	17·0	9·0
Oats	5·2	16·3	26·0	7·9
Rye	8·2	13·3	13·3	7·9
Maize	7·5	—	—	10·1
Potatoes	43·0	121·0	152·0	68·0
Flax	3·1	12·0	5·0	—

(From the Statistical Records of the League of Nations.)

decline which during the Great War assumed very 231
serious proportions. Within a short period the Old 433
Kingdom lost more than half of its total livestock. These losses were only partly made good by the acquisition of the New Territories.

In 1921 Greater Rumania had about 1,700,000 horses of which more than half were in the New Territories. There are two main races, both much smaller and lighter and more short-lived than the heavy type of English cart-horse. The horse of the plains, similar to and often crossed with the Hungarian horse, is found in Muntenia and in the western provinces, the Russian horse in Bessarabia and in the Bukovina. The mountain horse is small and tough and is chiefly used for the carrying of loads.

Cattle breeding has been one of the weakest points of Rumanian agriculture for some time. Although Greater Rumania by the acquisition of territories from Hungary and Austria obtained some high-class cattle, there was on the whole a decline both in quality and in quantity.[1] The decline in quality is due to the widespread use of cows as draught-animals and to inbreeding. The import of good foreign stock has been on an insufficient scale to improve this position, although some regions in Transylvania and the Banat have been able to maintain their good stock. The decline in numbers is due to the increase of meat exports and the absence of any planned breeding policy. The consumption [262]
of both milk and meat amongst the peasants is extremely low.

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[1] 1921: 5,700,000; 1932: 4,400,000. It is safe to assume that this downward trend continued.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

231 For the majority of Rumania's peasants the most
433 valuable of all animals are his sheep, of which
Greater Rumania possessed about 12,000,000. Both
the wool and the meat of Rumanian sheep are,
however, of a lower quality than those of Great
Britain or New Zealand. Sheep's milk, and the
cheese made from it, supplement the monotonous
diet of the peasant.

[439] Of the 3,000,000 pigs in Greater Rumania most were kept in the New Territories and a large proportion of the country's pork production was exported. Apart from the Rumanian Mangalita, English Berkshires were bred in great numbers.

241 Considered as a whole the agriculture of Greater
Rumania, favoured by good climatic conditions and
great soil fertility, remained undeveloped owing to
the general economic conditions. The peasantry did
not possess the necessary implements, buildings or
animals which could have secured profitable exploitation
[462] of the soil. Financial help was difficult to
obtain, and the loans that were granted were ruinous
to the peasant, owing to the high rate of interest.
[453] Co-operatives were few. Some agricultural banks
and associations confined to the German colonists in
the Banat and in Transylvania were the only ones
[435] which succeeded. Agricultural prices were low and
the peasant was often forced to sell his produce
before the harvest to export trusts which dominated
[454] the market. The only assistance given by the government
ment consisted in loans and seeds at reduced prices
for the growing of certain crops, such as soya beans,
for export in order to fulfil international trade
[439] agreements. During the last fifteen years Germany
secured an ever greater influence upon Rumania's
agriculture and took most of its exports.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

MINERAL RESOURCES. The great and varied wealth /35 of the subsoil of Greater Rumania has been exploited only to a small degree. 3/6 Apart from gold and silver, which are found in rivers and mined in Transylvania, there are iron-ore deposits estimated at about 30,000,000 tons. The average yearly production, however, amounted to only about 100,000 tons. The important alloy, manganese, found in various parts of the country, copper, zinc, chromium and bauxite all contribute to the mineral wealth of Rumania.

Through the acquisition of the New Territories the coal deposits of Greater Rumania were greatly augmented. The total coal reserves, of which the most important are situated in the western provinces and in Transylvania, were estimated at 722,000,000 tons. The average yearly production, of which two-thirds were brown coal, amounted to between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 tons. A source of power which is not found in any other part of Europe, and which could transform and sustain Rumanian industry for many years, is the great subterranean natural gas reservoir in Transylvania which contains chemically pure methane.

Another source of energy of which only a small 376 fraction has yet been exploited is Rumania's potential water power, estimated at 1,500,000 horse-power, which equals the energy of all the coal, oil and natural gas resources of Rumania taken together.

OIL. The centre of the Rumanian oilfields is the 315 region of Campina and Ploesti which also has the biggest refineries for the production of petrol and aviation spirit. Oil is also found in Oltenia, Moldavia and Maramures. Crude oil was already known

315 in the sixteenth century when the peasants used it as lubricant and medicine and the *boiars* as fuel. In 1815 the British representative in Bucarest drew attention to the oil deposits of Muntenia, and in 1844 the first concession for their exploitation was granted by Prince Bibescu to two Russians. By 1857 the first refinery had been established in Ploesti and in the same year Bucarest became the first town whose streets were lit by oil-lamps. From that time the exploitation of Rumania's oil resources made rapid progress.

The yearly production rose from 50,000 tons in 1890 to 1,885,000 tons in 1913. The destruction of the oil wells by British engineers during the last war retarded the progress of the industry for many years. By the middle of the nineteen-twenties the pre-war record had been exceeded and production reached the record figure of over 8,500,000 tons in 1934. It decreased to about 6,250,000 tons in 1939. The estimate for 1943 was 5,000,000 tons. The export of oil and oil-products was one of the chief sources of the nation's income. The greatest quantity of oil was exported in 1936 (nearly 7,000,000 tons). The average figure was between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 per year.

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471 Before the Great War a considerable part of Rumania's oil industry was financed and owned by German companies. After the Peace Settlement the position changed in favour of French, American and British interests. By 1938 nine-tenths of all Rumanian oil was controlled by the British 'Royal Dutch Shell' directly or through subsidiary companies. In 1936 the published net profits of the industry amounted to 57%. Half of the 200 million dollars of foreign investments in Rumania was

employed in the oil industry. The control of this 315
great source of energy by British and American 471
companies was challenged by Germany, which needed Rumania's oil for the prosecution of her imperialist aims. To-day Rumania is Germany's chief source of natural oil.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE. The industry of the Old 433
Kingdom was hardly developed when, with the annexation of the New Territories, Rumania acquired territories comparatively rich in industrial enterprises, especially the Banat, parts of Transylvania and the Bukovina. Thereby the industrial capacity of Greater Rumania was more than double that of the Old Kingdom. Production, however, was by no means doubled. Trade and industry improved in the years 1925–9 during which considerable capital-imports were effected. The great economic crisis of the next two years hit Rumania very hard and was finally surmounted only in 1936, when the figures for production exceeded those of 1929 by 30%.

The most important Rumanian enterprises were the food, chemical, textile and metallurgical industries. The textile industry increased its output, the number of workers employed as well as the value of its production; but most branches of Rumanian industry increased only the amount and the value of their production, reducing their wage bill and the number of workers partly through the introduction of machinery.

The heavy industry, producing armaments and 433
railway equipment, was controlled by several foreign 471
groups, amongst them Schneider-Creusot, Skoda and Vickers. German capital was invested in the

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

433 Resita works and in the Copsa-Mica concern. The
471 most important Rumanian group, representing both
German and British interests, was that of Malaxa-Auschnitt. The centre of Rumania's heavy industry is the region around Brasov.

The chemical industry, drawing to some extent on the unexported surplus of agricultural produce, developed substantially, thanks especially to attempts to make Rumania independent of imports. This industry, too, was controlled to a great extent by foreign, chiefly German, interests.

433 The textile industry, although handicapped by old-fashioned machinery imported from Germany, was the most prosperous. Production and value of output increased, as did the number of employees, but wages decreased.

Rumania's total ~~industrial~~ production was
433 doubled in the years 1924–36, but this was not re-
511 flected by a corresponding improvement in trade or
435 in the standard of living. The general index of wholesale prices fell by almost a third and that of agricultural produce by nearly half; the prices of manufactured goods decreased by only a little over one-sixth. By 1933 the value of exports and imports had fallen to about 25,600 million lei and was only one-third of that of all foreign trade in 1926. Real wages in the period from 1929 to 1939 fell by over one-fifth, while the cost of living in 1939 was indexed at 138 points in relation to 100 points in 1933.

652 By 1937 Rumania's national debt had reached 257 million pounds sterling of which only one-fifth was represented by internal loans. Interest on foreign loans in 1932 amounted to about one-quarter of the country's budget and in 1937 to about 16%.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

p. 71

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL HISTORY, 1919-39

The crushing defeats which the Rumanians suffered at the hands of the German and Bulgarian armies in 1917, and the provisions of the Treaty of Bucarest, had left the country in a state of utter helplessness and confusion. The only 'compensation' was the annexation of Bessarabia. But in the autumn of 1918, after the collapse of the German, Bulgarian and Austrian fronts in the Balkans and the advance of Allied troops, Rumania re-entered the war. The pro-German government was dismissed and the Francophile leader of the Liberal Party, I. Bratianu, became Prime Minister. 727

At about the same time the Austro-Hungarian Empire began to disintegrate. Following the example of other minorities, the Rumanians of Transylvania and Hungary formed a National Assembly which, at its session on 1 December 1918 at Alba Julia, voted for the union of Transylvania and the Banat with the Old Kingdom. Among the members of the Directive Council of Transylvania, under the presidency of the peasant leader Maniu, were many politicians who afterwards played a prominent part in Rumanian public life. 642 727

The retreat of the German army of occupation from Rumania, which took with it everything it could lay hands on, and the collapse of Austria-Hungary opened a period of great confusion. The former subject-peoples of the Dual Monarchy asserted their national independence while the 727

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

727 socially oppressed sections of the population, stimulated by the Russian Revolution, rose in many regions. The reconstituted Rumanian Army embarked upon a campaign against the Communist government of Hungary and was supported by Allied commanders. An offensive launched in April 1919 led to the capture of Budapest by 4 August. The Hungarian capital was occupied by about 170,000 Rumanian troops. By helping to defeat the Hungarian Revolution they prepared the way for Admiral Horthy's counter-revolutionary régime which has survived to the present day. The Rumanian campaign against Hungary coincided with fierce repressive measures against revolutionary groups in Bessarabia, Moldavia, in the Bukovina, in Eastern Muntenia and in the Banat. Under the pretext of re-establishing peace and order the Rumanian government crushed all the revolutionary forces whose existence might have endangered it.

728 **THE NEW STATE.** The long drawn-out negotiations in Paris which were to shape the final form of the Peace Treaties found Rumania in a very unfavourable position. The forceful personality of I. Bratianu, who put forward excessive and unreasonable demands for the expansion of Rumania, and the excesses of the Rumanian troops in Hungary, who requisitioned and transferred great quantities of railway and other materials to the Old Kingdom, estranged many of Rumania's friends. In spite of that, and thanks to the intervention of Queen Marie, Rumania emerged as the greatest and most populous of all Balkan States.

From the very beginning three factors influenced the new State. The territorial gains of Rumania put the country into the ranks of the 'satisfied' powers whose main aim was the preservation of the *status quo*. Moreover, the foreign policy of Rumania had to be based upon the support of Britain and France, who were interested in the strengthening of those States which had been created or enlarged as a result of Allied aid. Another decisive influence was the presence of great numbers of minorities within the borders of Greater Rumania. Apart from the internal problems involved, this was also a continuous source of trouble with at least two of the neighbouring States—Hungary and the Soviet Union. The third, and by no means least important, was the question of social reform and the unification of the administrative machinery. 728

FOREIGN POLICY.[1] All parties in the State agreed upon the foreign policy to be pursued. Support of French interests in South-Eastern Europe coincided with those of the ruling classes of Rumania. The defensive alliance with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia against the revisionist claims of Hungary, known as the 'Little Entente', was sponsored by France, concluded in 1920 and maintained up to September 1938 when Czechoslovakia was forced to make territorial concessions to Germany, Hungary and Poland. In 1921 Rumania concluded a defensive alliance with Poland directed against any westward advance of the Soviet Union and later joined the 'Balkan Entente', whose purpose it was to prevent Bulgaria from regaining territories taken from her. Rumania was throughout the ally of France. 648

[1] [Of the period from 1919 to 1939--Analyst]

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

563 **THE MINORITIES.** The presence of large numbers of
177 non-Rumanians in the new State affected the fate of Rumania decisively. While the leaders of the Transylvanian Rumanians, who had themselves had a long experience of foreign rule, advocated a just and liberal policy, the politicians of the Old Kingdom[1] and especially the Right Wing, persisted in a policy of Rumanization and de-nationalization contrary to the Minority Treaties. In Bessarabia this policy was excused by stressing the danger of the spread of revolutionary movements which threatened the safety of the State, and was carried out by the military. In the territories acquired from Hungary the position of the dominant and dominated sections of the people had been reversed so suddenly and so decisively that the change necessarily had violent consequences. Moreover, here the question of the treatment of minorities was closely interlocked with that of administrative unification. The laws and regulations of the Old Kingdom and of the New Territories[2] had to be equalized. The majority of the civil servants in Transylvania were Hungarians and most of these were replaced by Rumanians from the Old Kingdom. Some of the old officials, had to be retained, owing to the shortage of trained personnel, and the doubt about their loyalty to the new regime was exploited to strengthen the case for complete centralization.

[1] [Provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Dobrudja--Analyst]

[2] [Territories acquired after World War I--Analyst]

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565 **SOCIAL REFORM.** The problem of social reform was the most urgent and the most hotly contested of all. The Transylvanian National Party under the leadership of Maniu, and the Peasant Party of Mihalache,

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

who eventually joined forces and formed the 665
National Peasant Party, pressed for the extension 565
and enactment of the agricultural reforms promised in 1917. This was delayed owing to the pressure of the great landed interests who, after the disappearance of the pro-German Conservative Party, had found a new champion in the Liberals. The elections, however, brought a decisive defeat for the Liberals, and King Ferdinand had to entrust the formation of a new government to the victorious Peasant Block. In it were Dr Lupu, who in 1917 had opposed the plans for land reform on the ground that they were inadequate, Vaida-Voevod, a close collaborator of Maniu, and Mihalache, who as Minister of Agriculture proceeded to carry out the land reform.

General Averescu left this new administration 665
within a few days in order to create a new party in 565
opposition to the Peasant Block. Intrigues at court 662
soon secured the fall of the government, which was succeeded by an administration headed by Averescu whose personality was a guarantee that nothing would be done to abrogate the real power of the privileged classes. At the very efficiently 'managed' subsequent elections the General secured 209 out of 369 parliamentary seats. It was obvious that he was dependent on the support of the Liberals and the bureaucracy who preferred, for the time being, not to step into the foreground. Averescu's Minister of Agriculture, Garoflid, was the spokesman of the big landowners and it was he who finally put the land reform into practice. The social structure of the country was not basically altered. Moreover, the transfer of land to the peasants now made it possible

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

665 to blame other factors for whatever might go wrong
565 as there was no *boiar*-class left. The invisible, but
662 much more effective, financial control, continued to assure the rule of the same classes who had governed the country before.

665 Soon the Liberal Party again took over the government. I. Bratianu was the undisputed chief
648 of his party and had the confidence of the king. His whole policy was directed towards the strengthening of the power of the interests he represented. This, combined with his hostility towards the Soviet Union and Hungary had serious consequences which, however, became apparent only several years after his death.

643 **THE MONARCHY.** King Ferdinand, who had been
665 crowned at Alba Julia in 1923, died in 1927. This caused a serious crisis, for two years earlier the Crown Prince Carol had been forced to abdicate in favour of his infant son Michael. After Ferdinand's death a Regency Council of three was appointed to act in the king's name until he came of age. The Regents were naturally strongly influenced by Bratianu, but, when he died in 1928, the leader of the National Peasant Party was entrusted with the formation of a new government. Maniu secured a great electoral victory and his tenure of office was expected to bring about far-reaching changes. The new administration set about solving the minority question and the serious economic problems resulting from the incomplete land reform which instead of bettering had often worsened the lot of the peasants. Unfortunately at that time the world crisis had reached its worst stage. Although his

Although his 643
government had the majority of the people behind 665
it, Maniu was handicapped by sabotage on the part [662]
of the bureaucracy, the banks and the great industrialists. Moreover he found it very difficult to work with the Regency Council, especially in such a critical time, as very frequently it could not reach a unanimous decision.

All these circumstances seemed to make the restoration of Carol inevitable. Maniu therefore arranged for the return of Carol to Rumania, but made his accession to the throne conditional upon several undertakings, amongst which was a royal promise to respect the Constitution. Carol returned by plane on 8 June 1930 and was proclaimed King, his son Michael being unceremoniously relegated to the position of Crown Prince. Many high hopes were pinned on Carol whose youth and intelligence were held to be qualities which should make him a good ruler. But the head-strong young monarch, with his ideas of personal rule, soon disillusioned those who had enabled him to return. Before long Maniu resigned and the first period of Carol's personal regime began.

THE PEOPLE. During all these years the people of 511
Rumania had hoped for an improvement of their position. After the first few years of adjustment to the changes consequent upon the World War, it had become apparent that all misfortunes could not be blamed upon the war. The Agrarian Reform which was to have cured all ills had turned out to be a very questionable blessing. The recovery of industry which had a promising start in the middle twenties, when considerable amounts of foreign

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

511 capital had been imported, had come to an abrupt end only a few years later. The prices of agricultural produce continued to fall and manufactured goods became comparatively more expensive. While the value of money decreased[1] and the general level of the standard of living deteriorated up to about 1930, there was a slight improvement in the period following the recovery from the general crisis.

661 **CORRUPTION OF THE ADMINISTRATION.** The lot of the people, however, did not improve. The Rumanians, to whom their government had promised an era of prosperity and national splendour, soon found that the promise held good only for some privileged classes who had not been badly off before. The whole country was ruled by a small clique which had secured the allegiance of a host of civil servants. These officials were badly paid and relied on bribes to swell their income. Before elections the voters were promised reductions of taxation and official positions. But taxes became heavier each year and the new officials' greed had to be satisfied whenever one came in touch with the State apparatus. Identification papers of every description had to be secured before a citizen could go about his business. And in order to obtain these documents one had to visit innumerable offices, fill up innumerable forms and bribe a dozen officials. Arrests were made by the underpaid police for the sole purpose of obtaining money. Officials in all positions looked upon bribes as a legitimate source of income.

The poor peasantry and the minorities were

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[1] Level wages in 1930 were: in Rumania 39; in Britain 100. 465

especially hard hit by this rampant corruption. The 661
moneyed classes, on the other hand, were well satisfied with this state of affairs which guaranteed the continuance of their rule.

The position of the minorities was unenviable. 563
In theory all non-Rumanians had the same rights 641
and duties as the Rumanians. In practice, however, things were very different. The official language was Rumanian and anybody not able to speak Rumanian was handicapped from the beginning when dealing with the authorities. It was very difficult for members of a minority to obtain schooling in their native language, for although there were some Hungarian and German schools they had to be financed by the respective communities and the fees to be paid were high. A public career for a member of a minority was very rare indeed and non-Rumanians had always to expect unfavourable treatment at the hands of the authorities. The Jews, many of whom were denied Rumanian citizenship and had to pay from time to time for the right to live in the country, were worse off than the rest. Often in addition to being persecuted for their origin they could be victimized for having a Hungarian name and speaking German as their native language.

The mass of the Rumanians did not gain by this 661
discrimination ostensibly made in their favour. At 565
best the half-educated sons of peasants could secure some minor position in the State machinery.

The economic life of the country was dominated 471
by all-powerful monopolies. The oil and heavy industries were in the hands of a few foreign and Rumanian shareholders and the enormous profits were divided between a few industrialists, ministers

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

471 of State and foreign concessionaires. State-monopolies, such as the manufacture and sale of explosives, tobacco, etc., were often leased to foreign trusts. Road building, for example, was in the hands of a Swedish company. So was the manufacture of matches sold by the State. The whole telephone system was installed and operated by a subsidiary of the American financial trust of Morgans. Nine-tenths of the oil industry were in British hands, the armaments works of Transylvania were controlled by British, French, Czech and German interests. The newly developed chemical industry of the country soon passed into German hands. As for agriculture, the export of produce was effectively controlled by several banks who were partly or wholly owned by foreign financial houses. During the nineteen-thirties pharmaceutical goods were imported almost exclusively from Germany.

665 565 **THE GOVERNMENT.** The most powerful of all political parties were the Liberals who were entrenched in influential positions of the administration, the army, finance and industry. Led traditionally by a member of the Bratianu family, whose name at one time was almost synonymous with that of Rumania, the Liberal Party was able to rule the country directly or indirectly up to a very short time ago. Her adherents had very little in common with the Liberals of the West, representing, as they did, the Right Wing of the numerically weak but financially 665 and politically powerful Rumanian bourgeoisie. An 666 electoral law introduced by the Liberal Government in 1926 stipulated that the party which had secured 40% of the votes should obtain 60% of all parlia-

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

mentary seats. This device, combined with the 666
electoral methods adopted, normally assured the 665
continuance of the government in power.[1] In
Foreign Affairs the Liberals supported the French [648]
Alliance and the League of Nations in whose councils the Foreign Minister, N. Titulescu, had considerable influence.

The National Peasant Party led by Maniu and 665
Mihalache had the support of the rural population and represented the Left Wing of Rumanian politics. The party stood for a genuine Land Reform. It was not, however, a homogeneous party. From the first it had a Right and a Left Wing. As time went on, and especially when the political situation became more confused in the late thirties, the Right Wing tended to sympathize with the Iron Guard against the Royal dictatorship and the Left Wing with the Communists. The failure of the National Peasant Party to hold power after 1928 was due to the lack of confidence in the people, the fear of radical changes favoured by many sections of the population and hesitation to attack the firmly entrenched vested interests resolutely.—

Although Rumania had a parliamentary constitu- 661
tion the country was ruled by anything but democratic methods. Parliamentary representatives, ministers and the press could be made to advocate and carry out any measure if adequately paid by interested parties. The corruption of the lower civil service seemed as nothing compared with that on the top. State contracts, exemption from taxes and

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[1] It failed only twice: in 1928 when the National Peasant Party gained an electoral victory and in 1937 when Tatarescu's government fell.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

661 preferential legislation, the right to exploit natural resources under State control, could all be and were secured by Rumanian and foreign trusts for comparatively small sums. The mismanagement and appropriation of public money by government officials, including the court, had ruinous consequences for the population which knew about these things, but was unable to do anything about it. [651] Indirect taxation, heavier and more ingenious than anywhere else in Europe, provided an inexhaustible source of income for those in power. The 'aviation-stamp', for example, which had to be affixed on every bill, theatre- and cinema-ticket, etc., was supposed to secure a strong Rumanian Air Force. In fact Rumania possessed hardly any aircraft at all as the funds were misappropriated throughout.

648 661 **THE ROYAL DICTATORSHIP.** The instability of Rumania's economic and political life and her geographical position made the country extremely sensitive to any changes in Central Europe. Therefore the rise to power of the National Socialists in Germany, the risings of February and June 1934 in Austria and world reactions to these events had [668] immediate repercussions in Rumania. The Liberal Prime Minister Duca was assassinated in December 1933 by members of the Iron Guard. Tatarescu took over and decreed a state of siege, which has not been lifted since, ostensibly to repress and destroy the Iron Guard. In fact exactly the opposite course was adopted. The democratic forces which began to rally in order to fight Rumanian Fascism were persecuted by the government whilst the terrorists were allowed to continue their activities.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

The Iron Guard was originally part of the Mol- 668
davian and Bessarabian anti-Semitic movement led
by Professor Cuza. Amongst his pupils was
Codreanu who formed the 'Legion of the Archangel
Michael', a terrorist organization modelled on the
Fascist and Nazi pattern and supported by Germany
and Italy. Codreanu began his political career with
the assassination of the prefect of police of Jasi, the
blackmail of Jews and the persecution of progressive
organizations. His adherents were poor students of
the type which in Germany formed the core of the
Nazi movement, the lower clergy, army officers and
civil servants. His anti-Semitic and anti-Bolshevik
slogans sounded attractive to certain big business
men, high army officers and the higher clergy who
gave him their support. The king regarded the Iron 643
Guard with favour, for it seemed an excellent 668
weapon for weakening the country's democratic
forces and preparing the way for his own, undis-
guised dictatorship. Accordingly the crimes of the
Iron Guard were not punished and the activities of
her adherents remained unchecked.

In order to exploit the international situation, 643
which was only too favourable for dictatorship, 208
Carol began with an intensive propaganda, taking
the slogans of Fascism, National Socialism and the
Iron Guard, and laying particular stress upon his
desire to rule with the help of the young generation.
The schools and universities were militarized and
the defence of the country made one of the daily
watchwords. By ruling with non-party cabinets and 643
playing off one party against the other Carol under- 662
mined the strength of the Liberals and the adherents
of Maniu and Mihalache. From both parties he

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

662 attracted personalities who were willing to abjure
643 their political faith and serve the Crown.

While continuing to pay lip-service to the League
643 of Nations, he supported the Italian campaign in
648 Abyssinia by sending food and war material to Italy.
During the Spanish Civil War propaganda in favour of Franco was allowed and supported, while anything in favour of the Republican cause was banned.[1]

The result of the elections in December 1937, on
643 the eve of Hitler's seizure of Austria, precipitated
665 events. The government of the day, headed by the
Liberal Tatarescu, failed to secure the necessary 40% of the votes and resigned.[2] Carol refused to entrust Maniu with the formation of a government; and the Iron Guard had by now assumed such a hostile attitude towards the king that a compromise with them was out of the question. Consequently Carol called the 'National Christian Front' to power, an anti-Semitic and Fascist organization led by the poet Goga and Professor Cuza. Goga became Prime Minister and his cabinet contained former members of the Liberal and Peasant Parties who now went over to the absolutist camp, as well as the future 'Conducator'[3] Antonescu.

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[1] General Cantacuzino and several legionaries joined Franco and when two of them were killed their coffins were carried all over Rumania with great processions and interred at the headquarters of the Iron Guard in the presence of German, Italian, Spanish and Japanese representatives. At the same time collectors for the Republican cause were imprisoned. Nevertheless there were many Rumanians fighting for the Republicans in the 'Dimitrov' battalion.

[2] The result was: Government 35·9%, Peasant Party 20·4%, Iron Guard 15·5%, National Christian Front 9·1%.

[3] Leader.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

The new government[a] at once introduced measures 642
which had become familiar in Germany and Italy. 643
All democratic papers and organizations were suppressed, anti-Semitic laws were carried out without delay and the government's storm-troopers ruled the country. In the meantime the Iron Guard gathered strength and prepared to take power. The king recognized the threatening danger, dismissed Goga after only forty-five days, installed the patriarch Miron Cristea as Prime Minister of a government of 'national concentration' and announced a new constitution on the Fascist model.

All political parties were dissolved and their property confiscated. Representation was to be 'corporative', that is, according to social status, and the age of the franchise raised from 21 to 30. The king, with an advisory Crown Council, had all executive power. This so-called constitution was put to an open and verbal vote and was naturally accepted.[1] The new single-party, the 'Front of National Renaissance', became the only recognized political organization whose membership was obligatory for all officials.

The king's victory seemed complete. The democratic forces were routed and the whole administration was firmly in his hands. The army and a section of the industrialists supported this new regime, which promised them increased powers and incomes. Codreanu, whose many assassinations had been left unpunished, was imprisoned after being found guilty in a libel action.

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[1] Only about five thousand people dared to vote against this constitution in February 1938. Maniu demonstrated his protest by leaving the country before polling-day and returning shortly after.

[a] [i.e.: Goverment of 'National Christian Front' of 1937--Analyst]

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

643 [648] found guilty in a libel action. The only immediate danger, the revisionist claims of Hungary and Bulgaria, was to be eliminated by an even friendlier attitude towards Italy and Germany, and Carol's tour of the European capitals, including London, was intended to reassure the democracies.

643 Beneath the surface, however, the struggle between the Iron Guard and Carol continued. While Carol was on his tour, Codreanu and thirteen of his legionaries were shot by their prison guards. The Minister of the Interior, Calinescu, a former member of the National Peasant Party, who succeeded to the premiership after Miron Cristea's death in March 1939, ordered further repressive measures and was himself assassinated by Iron Guardists in the autumn of the same year.

563 668 THE FIFTH COLUMN. Nazi Germany found an extremely fertile soil for its propaganda not only among the Rumanian Fascist parties and some generals and industrialists, but also amongst the many Germans living in Rumania. They were economically prosperous and the best treated of all minorities in Rumania. The most important communities were the settlements in Transylvania and in the Banat. At first Nazi propaganda was not very successful owing to the economically favourable position of these Germans and their comparatively strong religious feeling.[1] But as time went on it had great successes. Under the cloak of cultural associations Nazi cells were formed which soon spread into every German village. Unwilling Germans were

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[1] The 'Saxons' are Protestants, the 'Aelpler', also in Transylvania, and the 'Schwaben' of the Banat Roman Catholics.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

forced into these organizations by social and eco- 563
nomic pressure. Combatant units, armed and 668
trained, consisted of youths who learned the Nazi doctrine in their schools. Financial assistance came from the German banks in Rumania: they supported the transactions of the 'Association for Export to Germany', which secured a virtual monopoly in the export trade of grain, cattle and pigs to Germany and Italy, as well as the hemp-growing scheme, which met with considerable success in the Banat.

Similarly the German papers published in Rumania soon passed under Nazi control. Their information was received from news agencies in Germany which also supplied them with commentaries and feature articles. Naturally the Rumanian Fascists were supported by the German-Rumanian Nazis who acted as go-betweens and agents of their masters in the Reich.[1]

The pro-Nazi Germans of Rumania who had 563
always possessed good economic, industrial and 471
financial connexions were able to render valuable assistance in the economic penetration of the country by German trusts. In 1933, for example, the fusion of several chemical firms in the Banat and in Wallachia brought them entirely under German control. That they produced semi-finished material for explosives enhanced their value. The iron and

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[1] The outrages of the Iron Guard, such as the desecra- 648
tion of Jewish synagogues and cemeteries, destruction of Jewish shops, political murder and blackmail, were aided and abetted by the German Nazi agents. A series of fires and bomb-explosions in Timisoara in November 1938, as well as other terrorist acts, were committed by members of the Iron Guard jointly with some German youths who were known to the public but escaped punishment.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

563 steel works of Resita and Copsa Mica, with a capital
471 of six million pounds sterling, and many other
factories also passed under German control. In the
[439] fight against Franco-British and American capital
in Rumania, Germany was favoured by the fact that
50% of Rumania's imports were German, and 36%
of the country's exports went to Germany (1938).
By 1940 the latter had reached about 70% of the
total.

563 This underground activity of the German
minority, combined with the pro-Fascist leanings
668 of the majority of the ruling classes, who feared to
lose their privileges and were only too glad to join
in the Anti-Bolshevik[1] crusade, and the corruption
reigning in the army and all branches of the government apparatus, sapped the strength of the country economically, politically and morally. It had become an easy prey for the imperialism of Hitler.

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661 [1] Especially savage measures were taken against workers' and intellectuals' progressive organizations, which were made illegal and had to go underground. Their members, if caught, were court-martialled and imprisoned.

p 89

CHAPTER VI

UNDER GERMAN CONTROL

The nineteen-thirties saw an acute sharpening of 565
the conflict between the popular forces and the Ru- 578
manian ruling class which was mirrored in all spheres 665
of the country's life. Neither of these two was undivided. On the one side was the majority of the people—the peasants and workers and some intellectuals. On the other the court, the generals, the vast bureaucracy, the professional politicians, industrialists, bankers and big landowners. The peasantry was hardly organized and was split by national divisions, as a part of the non-Rumanian rural population supported Minority parties which were mostly opposed to united action with the corresponding Rumanian parties. The workers' movement suffered from similar divisions and from splits caused by ideological differences. Numerically it was weak owing to the small number of industrial workers. Moreover all workers' organizations were subject to the most severe restrictions.[1] The ruling class of Rumania was united in its determination to prevent any measures harming its interests. The divisions in its ranks were due to differences as to the best means of maintaining its privileged position and to competition between the established section

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[1] The most vigorous Left Wing Party were the Communists, whose organizations, though illegal, continued in spite of repressive measures. They were most influential in Bessarabia, the Bukovina and the industrial regions.

578 of this class and those who wanted to secure this
565 dominant position for themselves.

665 These divisions were complicated by the personality
of King Carol and the attitudes of different sections of the ruling circles to his personal regime. One group put its trust in the royal dictatorship and included supporters of the pro-French and pro-British wing. Many prominent politicians from both great parties were attracted to this camp, the Liberals Tatarescu and Micescu, for example, and the peasant leaders Vaida-Voevod and Calinescu. Another group went over to the extreme Right Wing and supported the Iron Guard and similar but smaller organizations, and these inclined to a pro-German foreign policy. There were naturally some who tried to steer a middle course.[1]

665 Economic and financial considerations played an
important and often decisive part in this political
648 alignment. The Liberals had a great interest in a pro-Allied policy as they were closely connected with British, French and American investments in Rumania. The extreme Right Wing counted on support from Germany, which was readily given, and in return it facilitated the growth of Germany's political and economic influence. Both groups had discarded both the cloak and the spirit of democracy, and their leanings towards dictatorship, varying in form but not in substance, facilitated the victory of

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[1] C. Bratianu, leader of the Liberals, joined Carol's 'party' but only in order to keep his great industrial and financial interests. Maniu, the leader of the Peasant Party, remained passive. He showed sympathy to the Iron Guard in their opposition to the king's dictatorship and later joined Bratianu in seeking to restrain them: but he retained his pro-French leanings.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

the pro-Nazi group. This, combined with the 665 developments in the regions bordering on Rumania, 648 and the changes in the international situation, explain the seemingly inexplicable migration of the majority of the Rumanian ruling class from the Allies' to the Axis camp. The real rulers of Rumania depended to a great extent on foreign support: when the power of Britain and France seemed on the wane they had to look for new protectors, and many, though not all, therefore became pro-German.

THE LAST DAYS OF GREATER RUMANIA. The year 661 1939 opened ominously for Rumania. The alignment of power on the continent of Europe had its 648 counterpart in the grouping of Rumania's political forces, and the impending Great War threw its shadow on the sombre scene of Rumanian politics. After the assassination of Codreanu in November 1938 a wave of terror and repression swept the whole country, which resulted in a series of wholesale murders committed both by Iron Guards and the police. The new 'Party of the Nation' which had replaced the 'Front of National Renaissance' was an artificial veil for the manipulations of Carol and the court. The unstable political edifice, erected by the king tottered, in spite of the British Government's guarantee of 13 April 1939, which promised to assist in the defence of Rumania's independence. Germany increased her pressure to obtain a greater hold on Rumania's natural resources, while Britain and France tried to maintain their economic position.

At the outbreak of hostilities in September 1939 Rumania, although allied to France and Poland, remained neutral. The internal situation deteriorated

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

661 648 with alarming speed. The assassination of Calinescu, who had been responsible for the murder of Codreanu and others, was followed by yet another series of savage reprisals. The collapse of Poland brought a flood of refugees into the country and made Rumania's international position even more difficult. Many Poles were interned, many managed to bribe their way through to a port or across the frontiers.

648 In the economic field the Rumanian government tried to repeat the policy which its predecessor had pursued in the period 1914–16, when it profited from deals concluded with both belligerent camps. This time, however, German penetration was much more thorough and the economic agreements concluded between Germany and Rumania reinforced Germany's capacity to wage war very considerably. This naturally led to important consequences in the field of internal politics. In spite of the very recent repressive measures against the Iron Guard, Carol now adopted a more conciliatory attitude towards this organization. Now that Codreanu had been eliminated, he sought to strengthen his position by including Iron Guards in his government, amongst them Horia Sima who had become their leader. This seemed all the more necessary as the king's isolation in internal politics had its counterpart in the country's isolation in the international field. The revisionist claims of Rumania's neighbours were raised again, and Carol tried to rally the people by embarking on an intensive policy of rearmament for the defence of Greater Rumania. Distrust in the king and the general disintegration had, however, gone so far that the continuance of the whole régime

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

became impossible. The last blow came with the fall of France in June 1940. For over a century the Rumanian middle class had depended on French support. The cultural, economic and military ties between the two countries had always given the Rumanian bourgeoisie a feeling of security. The defeat of France therefore had immediate and profound reactions in Rumania. The pro-German wing, whose policy now seemed more justified than ever before, was triumphant; and the former adherents of the Allies transferred their allegiance more or less reluctantly to the victorious Nazi camp.

THE END OF GREATER RUMANIA. The collapse of the whole framework of the European Settlement, upon which Rumanian foreign policy had relied, occurred in the summer of 1940. The problems which had confronted the new State when it arose after the First World War had not been solved. On the contrary. The question of the minorities had become more complicated and acute; social conditions were in some respects worse than before 1914. In the sphere of foreign affairs the vacillating attitude of subsequent governments had left Rumania completely isolated. The sympathies of Britain and America had been lost; France was defeated; Germany looked upon Rumania as a valuable prize which she intended to seize and exploit; Hungary and Bulgaria were waiting for an opportunity to recover the territories lost to Rumania; Yugoslavia was already under indirect German domination; Czechoslovakia and Poland had disappeared from the map of Europe. The attitude of the Rumanian ruling class to the Soviet Union

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

648 had remained bitterly hostile in spite of the resumption of diplomatic relations in 1934. The question of Bessarabia had never been solved, and it was this issue which eventually opened the last chapter in the history of Greater Rumania.

THE U.S.S.R. TAKES BESSARABIA. Ever since the annexation of Bessarabia to Rumania, the Soviet Union had demanded the return of this province and had repeatedly proposed to ascertain the will of the population by a plebiscite. These proposals were always rejected by the Rumanian government. On 26 June 1940 the Soviet government addressed a note to Rumania which demanded the return of Bessarabia and the cession of the Northern Bukovina.[1] While the Soviet claim to Bessarabia was based on historical titles, the claim to the Northern Bukovina was made on the ground that the majority of the people were Ukrainian. The Rumanian government first tried to obtain the backing of Germany to oppose the Soviet demands. When this was refused, in virtue of the German-Soviet Pact then in force, it had no choice but to hand over the territories demanded. Soviet troops marched into

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[1] The Soviet note stated *inter alia* '...in 1918 Rumania took advantage of the military weakness of Russia and robbed the Soviet Union by force of part of her territory, namely Bessarabia, and thus broke the century-old unity of Bessarabia (principally occupied by Ukrainians) and the Ukrainian Soviet Republic...the handing over of the Northern Bukovina may be regarded as a compensation, though only in a small degree, for the tremendous loss which the population of the Soviet Union and the population of Bessarabia have suffered through twenty-two years of Rumanian rule in Bessarabia'.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina on 28 June; although some local resistance was offered, the occupation was completed swiftly. As soon as the population learned of the impending incorporation of Bessarabia in the U.S.S.R., many peasants flocked into the towns and ejected officials under whose rule they had suffered. Many political prisoners were freed after years of confinement. Some families from Moldavia and other adjoining areas crossed the Pruth and Danube into the new Soviet territories. A number of Rumanians, especially recent settlers, military and administrative personnel and their families fled into the Old Kingdom; most of the German colonists of Bessarabia were evacuated under an agreement with the German authorities and were later re-settled in Poland and Alsace-Lorraine. There were numerous deserters from the Rumanian Army who, instead of returning with their units, remained in Bessarabia and in the Northern Bukovina.

By the cession of Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina, Rumania lost a territory of about 20,000 square miles with a population of nearly 3,500,000. Further, this meant a diminution of Rumanian arable land by about one-quarter, and of livestock by 15%.

THE VIENNA AWARD. The reunion of Bessarabia with the Soviet Union encouraged the Hungarian government to raise once more its claims to the western provinces of Greater Rumania and to Transylvania. The Hungarians had never at any time since 1919 abandoned their hopes for the recovery of these districts.

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

648 Carol realized that some attempt to reach a settlement had to be made, for Hungary's claims were now backed by Germany. Negotiations between Hungary and Rumania began at Turnu-Severin, but they soon broke down. Eventually the representatives of both countries were summoned to a conference at Vienna and Ribbentrop and Ciano imposed upon them the Vienna Award on 30 August 1940. By this decision, Rumania was forced to cede an area of about 17,000 square miles with a population of some 2,500,000 to Hungary. Rumania thereby lost the Maramures and parts of Crisana and Transylvania.[1] The partition of Transylvania has not only not solved the national and economic problems of this area; it has seriously aggravated them. The motives behind this German move were undoubtedly: to prevent an armed clash between Hungary and Rumania; to put Hungary under an obligation of gratitude to Germany; and to leave Rumania with the recovery of Bessarabia as the only possible compensation for her humiliating loss. The success of this artful policy facilitated Hitler's designs, when in the following year he compelled both Hungary and Rumania to take part in his invasion of the Soviet Union.

The loss of the greater part of Transylvania meant much more than the loss of some thousands of square miles of arable land, livestock, natural resources and valuable factories. The Rumanians regard Transylvania as the cradle of the nation and the

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[1] According to Rumanian figures the population of the ceded territory was 2,395,153, of which the Rumanians numbered 1,176,433 (based on 1930 linguistic census). The Hungarian figures (1941) give the total as 2,577,291, of whom 1,066,353 were Rumanians.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

heart of their homeland. Their desire to recover Bessarabia, to which their claim was far more contestable, was fanned by German propaganda in order to deflect them from their real aims and interests. Their feeling for Transylvania is a natural one, rooted in the tradition of many centuries.[1]

The transfer of Transylvania to Hungary had serious economic as well as social and political consequences for the population. Rumanian peasants were expropriated and their land was given to Hungarian landowners, who have recovered many of their pre-1918 positions. The treatment of the Transylvanian Rumanians by Hungary has led to many incidents. There is a continuous exchange of accusations and denunciations going on in the press of Hungary and Rumania.[2]

Following the cession of Transylvania Bulgaria demanded the return of the Southern Dobrudja, which was agreed to at Craiova on 7 September 1940. This involved the loss of a further 2,960 square miles with a population of some 350,000.

So in less than two months the inflated Rumania of the Peace Settlement had lost an area of nearly 40,000 square miles and a population of over

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[1] Lord Halifax declared on 5 September 1940: '. . . they [the British Government] are unable to accept the settlement now announced of the Hungarian-Rumanian dispute over Transylvania, since that settlement is the result of an award by the Axis Powers and imposed under duress on Rumania.' On the other hand, the return of the Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria did not meet with criticism on the side of the Allies.

[2] There have been numerous demonstrations in Transylvania both for and against Hungarian occupation, and trials of Rumanian patriots and alleged Communists. The atmosphere in that area is extremely tense.

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648 6,250,000.[1] Greater Rumania had ceased to exist.

668 **THE FLIGHT OF THE KING.** The territorial losses and the disintegration of Greater Rumania were only the outward signs of internal decay. The vigour and strength of the people, however, were not yet broken. The cession of Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina aroused feelings which fortified the popular movement. Demonstrations were held in all the big Rumanian towns demanding the abdication of Carol and the creation of a truly democratic government. At the same time territorial concessions to Hungary were opposed; and when it became known that the Vienna Award was to be accepted, in spite of the vigorous protests of almost all well-known Rumanian statesmen, police and soldiers had to be employed against thousands of indignant demonstrators in order to maintain 'peace and order'.

Popular discontent and fury against the king were cleverly exploited by the Right Wing. The Iron Guard, whose opposition to his personal rule was well known, turned the popular feeling to good account. They were the loudest in demanding the abdication of Carol, but naturally not in order to enable the formation of a democratic regime. This

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131 [1] The remaining territory covered an area of less than
162 80,000 square miles; the population had shrunk to about 14,000,000. Official Rumanian figures state that Rumania's popu~~lation in 1942~~ was over 16,000,000, of which over 13,000,000 lived on the land (Wallachia, 6,200,000; Moldavia, 2,800,000; Bessarabia, 2,700,000; Bukovina, 800,000; Dobrudja (without Southern Dobrudja), 500,000; Rumanian Transylvania, 2,400,000; Banat, 1,000,000).

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

so-called national and revolutionary movement betrayed its German inspiration by supporting and approving the handing over of Transylvania to Hungary, but opposing the cession of Bessarabia to the U.S.S.R. 668

The king's Prime Minister, Gigurtu, resigned on 4 September and Carol summoned General Antonescu, who was at the time imprisoned in Bistrita, and charged him with the formation of a new government. This step was all the more remarkable as the German Minister at Bucarest had been able to communicate with Antonescu while he was in prison. Antonescu at once demanded Carol's abdication and obtained it after two days' continuous and heated discussions and negotiations. On 6 September Carol, accompanied by his mistress Mme Lupescu and his aide Udureanu, left Rumania. His son Michael succeeded for the second time to the unstable throne. 668 643

Carol's abdication was due to many different factors. The occupation of Bessarabia by the Red Army and the acceptance of the Vienna Award showed how brittle and hollow was his widespread kingdom. Everybody knew how great the king's share in the weakening of the country had been. The ten years of his reign had led to disastrous consequences. The will of the people, voiced for the first time for many years, had a decisive influence on the events leading to the abdication. Another important factor was Hitler's distrust for a man whose country he intended to take under complete domination. The king's renunciation of the British Guarantee was unable to win him Germany's confidence. Since Carol assumed the throne in 1930 643 668 648

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

643 he had played off one political party against the
668 other in order to strengthen his position. In foreign
648 politics he followed the same tactics. He ended by
completely isolating Rumania internationally and
undermining her internally.

It may be said in extenuation of his inglorious behaviour, that the dismemberment of Greater Rumania was inevitable, once the whole balance of power had shifted against the Western Allies, whose settlement had created it. But it is at least equally tenable that a democratic and united Rumania, which had succeeded in winning the loyalty of any considerable elements among its minorities, might have held out against the cession of territory to Hungary, by obliging the Hungarians and Germans to use force to effect it at a time when Hitler was anxious to avoid war in the Danubian area. This might have rallied Rumania with Yugoslavia and Greece, who showed a more heroic spirit, to the Allies' camp. In fact, the king's policy only aggravated the internal situation and sharpened the conflict of parties.

642 **RUMANIA GOES TO WAR.** General I. Antonescu,
661 having obtained Carol's abdication,[1] pronounced
himself 'Conducator', that is, 'Leader', and proclaimed the creation of the 'Legionary State'. His government was composed of generals, leaders of the Iron Guard and civil servants. Codreanu's successor, Horia Sima, became vice-premier and at once organized an unprecedented regime of terror throughout the whole of Rumania. His henchmen assassinated numerous prominent opponents of the Iron Guard. The looting of shops and the beating

[1] [Sept 6, 1940--Analyst]

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

up of Jews became the favourite occupation of the 661
legionaries. The resulting confusion helped many 642
minor officials as well as influential business men in
acquiring valuable property.

But it soon became obvious that the real masters 648
of Rumania were the Germans. In October 1940 642
Antonescu invited German troops into the country
as instructors for the Rumanian Army. German 669
trade delegations began organizing Rumania's economy
and German specialists were appointed to
important positions in various ministries. Although
Antonescu had included the Iron Guard in his
government, the struggle for power between him
and Horia Sima continued. In January 1941 the
Iron Guard, supporting the latter, made a last bid.
The legionaries rose in revolt and succeeded in
gaining several strong positions in Bucarest and in
some provincial towns. The army, however, sided
with Antonescu, who was also aided by the Germans,
and within a short time the 'Conducator' emerged
as victor. He at once proceeded to the establishment
of a completely military administration and based
his whole regime on the army.

His[1] success in the fight against the Iron Guard 721
was influenced decisively by the German desire to
create a stable Rumanian government which would
join in the attack on the Soviet Union. Antonescu
did not fail his German masters. On 22 June 1941
Rumanian troops, together with German divisions,
crossed the Soviet frontier. Thanks to German 721
support, Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina 727
were re-occupied within a short time. Both provinces
were put under a military administration and
ruled quite separately from the rest of Rumania.

[1] [i e: Antonescu -- Analyst]

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

721 Those sections of the population which had sup-
727 ported the Soviet regime were ruthlessly persecuted
and the punitive measures are almost identical with
those carried out in 1919.[1]

721 Politically the advance of Rumanian troops into the Ukraine and as far afield as the Caucasus put Antonescu and his propagandists in an awkward position. In order to justify the entry of Rumania into the war[2] he pointed to the necessity of recovering Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina. The Rumanian advance farther east was defended alternatively by the assertion that the land beyond the Dniester was really Rumanian, and by the argument that Rumania could never be safe whilst the Soviet Union existed. The former line of argument carried no conviction: the latter had at first some popularity in view of the wound which the loss of Bessarabia and Bukovina had inflicted on the national pride.

While the German and Rumanian armies continued their advance into Soviet territory these excuses and justifications were accepted without public criticism, although, apart from the few out-and-out Fascists, there is no Rumanian who would really believe that he has any claim to land east of the Dniester. But the ever mounting losses of the Rumanians began to disturb the people. Losses had already been heavy in the capture of Odessa, the

---

[1] According to Soviet reports over 50,000 Jews and 30,000 Bessarabians have been killed since the re-occupation by Rumanian troops.

[2] Great Britain declared war on Rumania on 7 December 1941, and the United States of America followed suit on 5 June 1942.

Crimea and Kharkov in 1941. But they became 721 alarming when the Red Army began the great counter-offensive in the Caucasus and at Stalingrad, where five Rumanian divisions under General Lascar were wiped out or put out of action. In May 1943 Antonescu said the Rumanian losses were 500,000, referring apparently to killed and prisoners only. Since then the great German retreat has probably caused many more Rumanian losses. During 1943 the government's action in sending Rumanian troops beyond the old frontier was repeatedly condemned by the leaders of the opposition—Peasants and Liberals. The Minister of War answered these objections by saying, 'It is lucky for us that the war is so far away. If we had to fight so powerful an opponent on the Dniester or the Pruth, all Rumania would be ruins.' But within a year the avenging fate had not rested on the Pruth.

OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION. The effects of 661
Antonescu's dictatorial regime showed themselves in 642
all spheres of Rumanian life. Politically the country was ruled by the army generals and in all other fields by Rumanian and German big business. Military administrators replaced local government in the provinces and the towns. The Rumanian industrialists and bankers found it very profitable to work for the German war economy. Their political enemies were liquidated or driven under-ground. In the economic field their exploitation of the people and of the country's resources was only limited by Germany's interests.

Both the political and the economic life of 000

648 Both the political and the economic life of Rumania was subject to complete German domination. 241 The agriculture of the country had to supply the German and Rumanian armies in the field. The area of arable land was feverishly enlarged so as to provide more food. This met with considerable success. In 1941 the country produced almost as much wheat as the whole of Greater Rumania in 1935. Exports almost reached the pre-1940 level.[1] By 1943 the area under wheat had been increased to 3,000,000 hectares and that under maize to 4,000,000 hectares. Even more important is the extension of the land used for the growing of rape seeds[2] and of oil-bearing plants.[2] Rumanian agriculture served a double purpose: the provision of food for the Rumanian and German armies and the supply of Germany's war industry with valuable raw material. The introduction of the soya bean into Rumania, the delivery of thousands of iron ploughs, tractors and other agricultural machinery from Germany only served to further this aim. Exploitation of the peasantry was the immediate consequence; but, if the ploughs and machinery remain when the Germans have gone, Rumanian agriculture is bound to benefit.

433 **OIL AND INDUSTRY.** The output of the chemical, textile and heavy industries were increased considerably. Consumer goods, however, are scarce and very expensive. The yearly production of oil has not

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[439] [1] Export of wheat in 1940, 379,000 tons; in 1941, 2,500 tons; export of maize in 1940, 564,000 tons; in 1941, 117,000 tons. Both have since risen.

[2] 1942: 350,000 hectares grew rape seeds and 600,000 hectares oil-bearing seeds.

reached the high level of 1935 and 1936,[1] but it has 433
maintained an average of over 5,500,000 tons, of which about 3,000,000 tons have been exported, chiefly to Germany. The rest has been used by the Rumanian armed forces and war industry. As in all 411
other occupied countries, Germany acquired all the Rumanian key industries. The *Kontinentale Oel A.G.* was the holding company for all German oil interests in Rumania. This trust controlled and regulated the output and sale of all Rumanian oil. Rumanian and French investments (by arrangements with the Vichy government) were also represented, but they were of minor importance. One of the effects of German control could be seen in the fact that whole districts, less than a hundred miles from Ploesti, suffered from a chronic shortage of lamp-oil.

All the great iron and steel works of Rumania passed under the control of the Nazi *Hermann Goering Werke*. The well-known German chemical trust *I.G. Farben* absorbed all chemical factories in Rumania and erected new ones. The use of the Rumanian economy in Germany's interests has been coupled with a very thorough financial exploitation. Credits have been granted by the Rumanian National Bank to certain enterprises, under German control, for the import of machinery from Germany. At every stage of manufacture, purchase and sale, export and import, there was a handsome profit which ultimately benefited only a small number of big shareholders, who had interests in each of the enterprises connected with the transaction. Bribes

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[1] 1935: 8,376,000 tons; 1936: 8,703,000 tons.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

471 and smaller profits were the reward of Rumanian
officials and business men.[1]

511 How far the natural resources of Rumania have
suffered under this intensive exploitation will prob-
ably become apparent only after the war. Its effects
on the people of Rumania, however, can be gauged
already. The cost of living in 1941 was three times
as high as in 1934, and in January 1943 it was
reported to be 50% higher than one year before.
These are official Rumanian figures, based on
maximum prices and maximum wages which are
511 only fictitious. In fact many goods, although
465 rationed, could be obtained only on the black market
and at phenomenal prices. The general inflation
led to a levelling-up of wages; but wages re-
mained far behind prices. The workers, therefore,
were worse off than before, although, theoretically,
they obtained improved wages A Swiss report in
August 1943 showed that the monthly earnings of

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457 [1] In January 1944 the Rumanian Government, according to a German paper published in Rumania, 'decided to put at the disposal of the Ministry of Finance a credit of three milliard lei for a new campaign for the modernisation of petroleum installations in Rumania. The Rumanian National Bank has granted a loan of one hundred million Reichsmarks to a number of oil companies for the same purpose. This sum will be used for the import of machinery from Germany . . . these companies have also been put in charge of the supply of the capital with natural gas'. At about the same time one of the mouthpieces of the Nazi war economy declared quite frankly: 'The practical purpose of the Rumanian export trade policy is to ensure an adequate supply of raw materials for the home industry. In order to stimulate import the concerns in question were permitted . . . to open up new industries in foreign countries for the purpose of supplying raw materials and half finished goods to the vitally necessary war industries in Rumania.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

a worker, working sixty hours a week, would just be 511
sufficient to buy a pair of shoes or four pounds of 465
coffee, while he would have to spend about three months' wages to buy a suit. The workers do not possess any effective trade unions or other organizations which could better their lot, and peasants' co-operatives are few and weak, except those controlled by the State and those of the German Minority. Antonescu, however, recognized the danger threatening him from this quarter and tried to pacify the workers by creating special services which would supply them with their rations. Other sections of the population had to rely on luck. By creating a class of workers which at last had an assured supply of food he hoped to neutralize the most potent elements of Rumanian discontent.

Another indication of the standard of living is 511
supplied by the official price index. From June to 435
December 1940 prices rose by over 137% and, according to the official Rumanian economic gazette, by 372% between August 1939 and October 1943. This fantastic increase of prices brought no corresponding gains to the farmers or agricultural workers, as can be seen from the Rumanian press.[1] While some industrial workers at least got their rations, and in some instances even increased rations,

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[1] In December 1943, one of the German papers in Rumania reported that 'the Union of Farmers' Co-operative Societies states that although there was a record harvest last year, the difficult position of the farmers has not improved. A great part of the harvest is still unsold and...the shortage of capital is very much felt...the Union demands that one-third of the difference between the low inland- and the high export-prices be paid to the farmers instead of giving the whole of the overprice to the State and the exporters....Owing to the lack of

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

511 the economic position of the rural population
435 appears to be lamentable.

648 **THE POLITICAL SCENE.** Both the internal and external
722 policies of Rumania have been shaped by events on the battle fronts, and more particularly by the war on the Eastern front. The fact that Rumania is fighting side by side with Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union has had effects upon the national life of which the consequences are inescapable. The artificial stimulation of public opinion against the U.S.S.R., intended to galvanize the people into a fervent nationalism and unreserved support for Antonescu, proved no small embarrassment to him when the tide of battle turned so catastrophically against his Allies. Further, Rumania's position is also anomalous in the extreme. The severest blow which the country suffered during the past decades was the loss of two-fifths of Transylvania to Hungary.[1] Yet Rumania has been fighting in alliance with Hungary against the Soviet Union. At the same time friction between Hungary and Rumania has been one of the gravest problems in the

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511 credits the farmers are unable to meet their most urgent
435 obligations and, if no solution is found, an agrarian crisis is imminent which must influence the whole national economy.' A Bucarest paper stated in January 1944: '...there are two million farms without milk cows, 160,000 without hogs and 200,000 without even a single chicken. Unfortunately the Ministry of Agriculture with only two and a half per cent of the budget can do little to alleviate the peasants' lot.'

[1] The Czechoslovak President, Dr Benes, stated in London in March 1944 that the Soviet Union would insist on the return of the territories which Hungary stole from her neighbours, including Transylvania.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

Axis camp. Clashes between armed Rumanians and 722
Hungarians have been very frequent, and the Press of 148
both countries has kept up an unabating series of violent accusations.

The swift advance of the Red Army during the 722
great winter offensive of 1943–4 had by the end of March brought Soviet troops well into Rumanian territory. Hastily-made arrangements for the evacuation of the Rumanian-administered province of 'Transdnistria', actually part of the Ukraine, and of the Bukovina and Bessarabia, in all of which an intensive policy of Rumanization during the past few years had failed to bear fruit, were thereby thrown into complete confusion.

The position of the Rumanian government at the time of writing can only be a matter of speculation. The old political parties have failed to provide an effective opposition to the dictatorship of Antonescu, though Maniu and Bratianu have indeed addressed several notes of protest to the 'Conducator'. The strength of the Rumanian underground movement is difficult to assess. There have been several clashes with the Germans,[1] some sabotage and lately also partisan activities.[2] Clandestine organizations

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[1] Of the 500,000 Germans in the present reduced Rumania, over 42,000 have joined the Nazi S.S. divisions. Germans from the Banat and Transylvania make up the greater part of the S.S. division *Prinz Eugen*, which has been fighting against Tito's Army of Liberation in Yugoslavia for some time.

[2] There are also reports of stronger activity by the Communist Party of Rumania of which several members have been arrested. It is said that opponents of the Antonescu regime, of various party allegiances, have succeeded in forming the beginnings of a united 'national liberation movement,' of which the title suggests Communist leadership.

8–3

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

722 amongst railway workers and in the industrial areas around Brasov, Ploesti and Bucarest have lately gained some influence.

648 **RUMANIA AND THE WESTERN ALLIES.** The American air attacks on the oil district of Ploesti first made the Rumanians realize that the war was drawing near them. The capitulation of Fascist Italy was the second blow. But the decisive and all-important factor was, and remains, the advance of the Soviet troops. The last hope of the present government and its supporters lay in a conflict between the Western Powers and the U.S.S.R. They have frequently protested that they do not consider Rumania to be really at war with Britain and the United States. Therefore, the decisions of the Moscow and Teheran Conferences were regarded by them as blows directed against their very existence. Subsequent Press statements, however, show that they still hoped to gain the sympathy of Britain and America; and the journey of Prince Stirbey to Turkey and Egypt in March 1944 could have no other explanation. (This gentleman owns most of the land around Ploesti.) Recently a prominent Rumanian journalist wrote that the country's present position is similar to the pre-revolutionary era of 1917. Then, he said, the worst was averted by granting certain concessions to the people, and he went on to demand that a similar step be taken now for the same purpose. Unwittingly, this Rumanian propagandist has truly summed up the position of his class. It is prepared to do anything to keep its privileges and its powers. Its representatives will side with whoever assures them of the continuance of their rule. As

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

will be seen from the Appendix.[7] M. Molotov, in a 648 speech made on 2 April 1944, professed the intention of the Soviet Government to leave the existing social structure of Rumania unaltered. But Marshall Stalin's Order of the Day of 30 April contained an appeal to the people of Rumania, as of Hitler's other Allies, to revolt.

[7] [See pp. 117-120 --Analyst]

p 112

CONCLUSION

175 This short survey of the different phases of the long
648 and unhappy history of Rumania and the Rumanians discloses a number of factors which, in one form or another and with varying intensity and effect, have decisively contributed to the damaging result of events both upon the land and upon the people. The Rumanians and their country, more than many other nations and States, have on the whole been rather the passive object than an active subject of history.

This involuntary passivity characterized the very emergence of the Rumanian nation and has not yet been overcome. The first attempts to form the basis of a national existence were frustrated, and postponed for many centuries, owing to the invasion of Europe by the Magyars. When the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were eventually created in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the emergence of these two primitive States was chiefly due to the pressure of the Hungarians in Transylvania; it was made possible owing to the decay of the Slavonic States south and west of the Danube. Moldavia and Wallachia during the subsequent centuries were the battle-grounds of Great Powers or were exploited as colonies. The nineteenth century saw the rise of Rumanian nationalism with the aim of the union of all Rumanians in one State. This aspiration was warped and misused by rival empires in order to strengthen their position in South-Eastern Europe. When this union became a reality after the First World War, it was achieved not so

181 shown that they possess qualities equal to those of other nations, and they still do. These forces are dormant, covered, as it were, by a thick skin which has grown as a result of blows which had to be suffered and could not be parried. If and when the strain becomes too great, and when opportunity comes, then this people may discover its power and, if it be well led, form a healthy State.

669 Up to now this* has never happened: the people
186 has never won against its oppressors. And this is a factor which has been ever present in Rumanian history. The peasant revolt which broke out amongst the Rumanians in Transylvania in 1785, four years before the French Revolution, ended in complete defeat. The national movement of Tudor Vladimirescu in 1820 resulted in little more than the appointment of Rumanian, instead of Greek, princes to the thrones of Moldavia and Wallachia. The revolutions of 1848 were speedily crushed by the combined forces of the great empires and, in the case of the Rumanians of Transylvania, were used in the most cunning way to defeat the national movement of another people. The union of Wallachia and Moldavia, one of the most genuine aims of the whole Rumanian people, was achieved in the end less by popular forces than by intrigues and international diplomacy. The Great Peasant Revolt of 1907 was put down by the military and cost thousands of peasants' lives. The Land Reforms of 1917 were accepted by a parliament which contained not one single peasant; and they were carried out by one of the richest landowners of Rumania, who, with his associates, had certainly no intention of applying them in such a way as to diminish the power of his

*[i.e.: the formation of a healthy State -- Analyst]

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

class over the countryside. The union of all Rumanians in one State was a long-cherished dream. 669 / 186 Its realization was only partly due to the actions of the people; Greater Rumania was the result of the greediness of the country's rulers, supported by the anti-Soviet policy of many countries. It carried the seed of its own destruction; and, when disruption came and the popular forces rose to assert their will in 1940, they were again defeated. In place of the royal dictatorship came the dictatorship of Rumanian and German Fascism: in place of partial economic domination by the west came complete domination by Germany.

One of the greatest barriers to the progress and 648 well-being of Rumania and the Rumanians has been the fact that the geographical position and the wealth of the country have made it the victim of the ambitions of Great Powers. Rumanian governments have sided more often than not with the national enemies of their people and have at best tried to play off one of their foreign protectors against the other.

Yet it is exactly the geographical position and the 000 great wealth of Rumania, combined with the hardiness and strength of its inhabitants, which hold out the promise of a happier future. The material and human resources for such a development are abundant. What is necessary is the liberation of these material and human forces under disinterested leadership. If that happens, if the unlucky chain of unsuccessful revolutions is broken; if these forces conquer those of their corrupt rulers, and the unhealthy social system of exploitation and oppression is replaced by the government of the people for the

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

000 benefit of the people, then Rumania can become a happy and prosperous country. It is evident that the realization of such hopes now depends mainly upon the policy which the government of the U.S.S.R. adopts towards Rumania, when Russia replaces Germany as the dominant power in Eastern Europe.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

p 117

Appendix

STATEMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS WITH REGARD TO RUMANIA

I

On 2 April 1944, Mr Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Commissar, addressing representatives of the Press, announced that the Red Army had crossed the river Pruth at various places and had entered Rumania. 648

In his statement, which was later broadcast from Moscow, Mr Molotov declared:

'The Red Army, as a result of a successful offensive, has reached the river Pruth, which is the State frontier between the U.S.S.R. and Rumania. Thus the full re-establishment of the Soviet State frontier as fixed in 1940, in accordance with the agreement between Soviet Russia and Rumania, has been begun.

'This agreement had been treacherously violated by the Rumanian Government in alliance with Hitlerite Germany.

'At the present time the Red Army is carrying out the clearance of Soviet soil of all the enemy still there, and the time when the entire Soviet frontier with Rumania will be completely restored is not far off.

'The Soviet Government hereby declares that the advancing units of the Red Army, pursuing the German armies and their allied Rumanian troops

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

648 have crossed the river Pruth in several sectors and have entered Rumanian territory.

'The Supreme Command of the Red Army has given orders to the advancing Soviet troops to pursue the enemy until his final rout and capitulation.

'At the same time the Soviet Government declares that it does not pursue the aim of acquiring any part of Rumanian territory, or of altering the social structure of Rumania as it exists at present.

'The entry of Soviet troops into the boundaries of Rumania is dictated exclusively by military necessities, and the continuing resistance of enemy troops.'

II

In a May Day Order of the Day to the Soviet fighting forces and the nation Marshal Stalin declared on 30 April 1944:

'... Under the blows of the Red Army the *bloc* of Fascist Powers is breaking and falling to pieces. Fear and confusion reign among the Rumanian, Hungarian, Finnish and Bulgarian "allies" of Hitler. These henchmen of Hitler, whose countries have been or are being occupied by the Germans, cannot fail to see that Germany has lost the war.

'Rumania, Hungary, Finland and Bulgaria have only one chance left to them to escape catastrophe—to break with Germany and withdraw from the war. But it is hardly to be expected that the present Governments of these countries are capable of breaking with Germany. It is to be supposed that the people of these countries will have to cope themselves with the task of their liberation from the German yoke. The sooner the people of these countries realize the *impasse* into which they have been driven by the Germans the sooner they will stop all assistance to their German oppressors and to their henchmen quislings in their own countries. The more they do themselves, the more they can count on the understanding of democratic countries....'

III

The Governments of the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and the United States issued the following declaration on 12 May 1944:

'Through the fatal policy of their leaders, the people of Hungary are suffering the humiliation of German occupation. Rumania is still bound to the Nazis in a war now bringing devastation to its own people. The Governments of Bulgaria and Finland have placed their countries in the service of Germany and remain in the war at Germany's side.

'The Governments of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States think it right that these people should realize the following facts:

(1) The Axis satellites, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland, despite their realization of the inevitability of a crushing Nazi defeat and their desire to get out of the war, are by their present policies and attitudes contributing materially to the strength of the German war machine.

(2) These nations still have it within their power, by withdrawing from the war and ceasing their collaboration with Germany and by resisting the forces of Nazism by every possible means, to shorten the

2

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

648 European struggle, diminish their own ultimate sacrifices, and contribute to the allied victory.

(3) While these nations cannot escape their responsibility for having participated in the war at the side of Nazi Germany, the longer they continue at war in collaboration with Germany the more disastrous will be the terms which will be imposed upon them.

(4) These nations must therefore decide now, while yet there is time for them to contribute to the inevitable allied victory, whether they intend to persist in their present hopeless and calamitous policy of opposing that victory.'

p. 121

INDEX

000

Antonescu, General, 84, 99–103, 108, 109
Aurelian, 4
Austria, 11, 14, 18, 42, 56, 64, 65, 82
Avars, 5
Averescu, General, 18, 56, 61, 75

Balkan Entente, 73
Bauer, General von, 13 n.
Benes, Dr, 108 n.
Bethlen, 46
Bibescu, Prince, 68
Boirebista, 2
Boris, 6
Bratianu, C., 90 n., 109
Bratianu, I., 61, 71, 72, 76
British guarantee to Rumania, 91, 99
Bulgaria, 2, 6, 18, 20, 35, 36, 86, 93, 97
Byzantium, 6

Calinescu, A., 86, 90, 92
Cantacuzino, General, 84 n.
Carol I, 17, 18
Carol II, 76, 77, 83–6, 90–2, 96, 98–100
Charlemagne, 5
Claudius, 2
Codreanu, J., 83, 85, 86, 91, 92
Communists, 81, 89 n., 109 n.
Conservative Party, 17, 75
Constantinople, 4, 10, 11 n., 14
Constitution of February 1938, 85 n.
Corvinus, Matthias, 9
Crimean War, 16
Cristea, Patriarch, 85, 86
Cuza, Prof. A. C., 83, 84
Cuza, J., 16, 17, 37, 38

Decebal, 2, 3
Denmark, 64
Domitian, 2
Duca, I., 82

Eugene of Savoy, 42

Ferdinand I, 18, 19, 52, 75, 76
France, fall of, 93
French Revolution, 114
Front of National Renaissance, 85, 91

Garoflid, 75
Gepides, 5
Germany, 14, 18, 57, 64, 66, 69, 70, 82, 83, 85–88, 90–4, 96, 99–101, 103–5, 108, 115, 116
Gigurtu, 99
Goga, O., 84, 85
Goths, 4

Halifax, Lord, 97 n.
Hermann Goering Werke, 105
Horia, Closca and Crisan, 13
Horthy, Admiral, 72
Hungarian Revolution 1848, 16, 42
Hungarian Revolution 1919, 72
Hungary, 10, 11, 18, 26, 27, 40, 42, 43, 45–7, 49, 50, 62 n., 64, 65, 72–4, 76, 86, 93, 96–100, 108
Huns, 5
Hunyadi, J., 9 n., 43

1

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

000

I.G. Farben, 105
Iron Guard, 81–7, 90–2, 98, 100, 101

Kisseleff, Prince, 15
Kontinentale Oel A.G., 105

Lascar, General, 103
League of Nations, 81, 84
Liberal Party, 17, 71, 75, 76, 80, 81, 83, 84, 90, 103
Little Entente, 73
Louis of Hungary, 10
Lupescu, Mme, 99
Lupu, Dr, 75

Maniu, J., 71, 74–7, 81, 83–5, 90 n., 109
Maria Theresa, 29, 41
Marie, Queen, 72
Mercy, Count, 42
Micescu, I., 90
Michael the Brave, 11
Michael I, 76, 77, 99
Mihalache, I., 74, 75, 81, 83
Minorities, 19, 20 n., 23, 25 n., 26–9, 41, 42, 44–50, 53, 58, 61, 71, 73, 74, 78, 79, 86, 87, 89, 93, 97, 101, 109
Molotov, V., 111
Morgans, 80
Moscow Conference, 110

National Christian Front, 84

Orthodox Church, 4, 6, 8, 12, 24–5
Otto the Great, 7

Paris, Treaty of, 16
Party of the Nation, 91
Peace Settlement of 1919, 20, 57, 72, 93, 97
Peasant Party, 62, 74–6, 81, 84, 86, 90 n., 103

Royal Dutch Shell, 68
Rumanian language and culture, 1, 3, 5, 7, 12, 24
Rumanians, origin of, 3–8
Russia, 14, 28, 29, 35, 56, 60
Russian Revolution, 19, 56, 61, 72

Schneider-Creusot, 69
Sima, H., 92, 100, 101
Skoda, 69
Soviet Union, 18, 27, 54, 58, 73, 76, 93–6, 99, 101, 102, 108, 110, 116
Spanish Civil War, 84
Stalin, J., 111
Stephen the Great, 37
Stirbey, Prince, 110

Tatarescu, G., 81 n., 82, 84, 90
Teheran Conference, 110
Tito, 109 n.
Titulescu, N., 81
Trajan, 3, 32, 41

Udureanu, 99

Vaida-Voevod, 75, 90
Vickers, 69
Vienna Award, 45, 50, 95, 96, 98, 99
Visigoths, 4, 5
Vlachs, 6
Vladimirescu, T., 15, 114

Ypsilanti, A., 15 n.
Yugoslavia, 2, 21, 28, 93, 100

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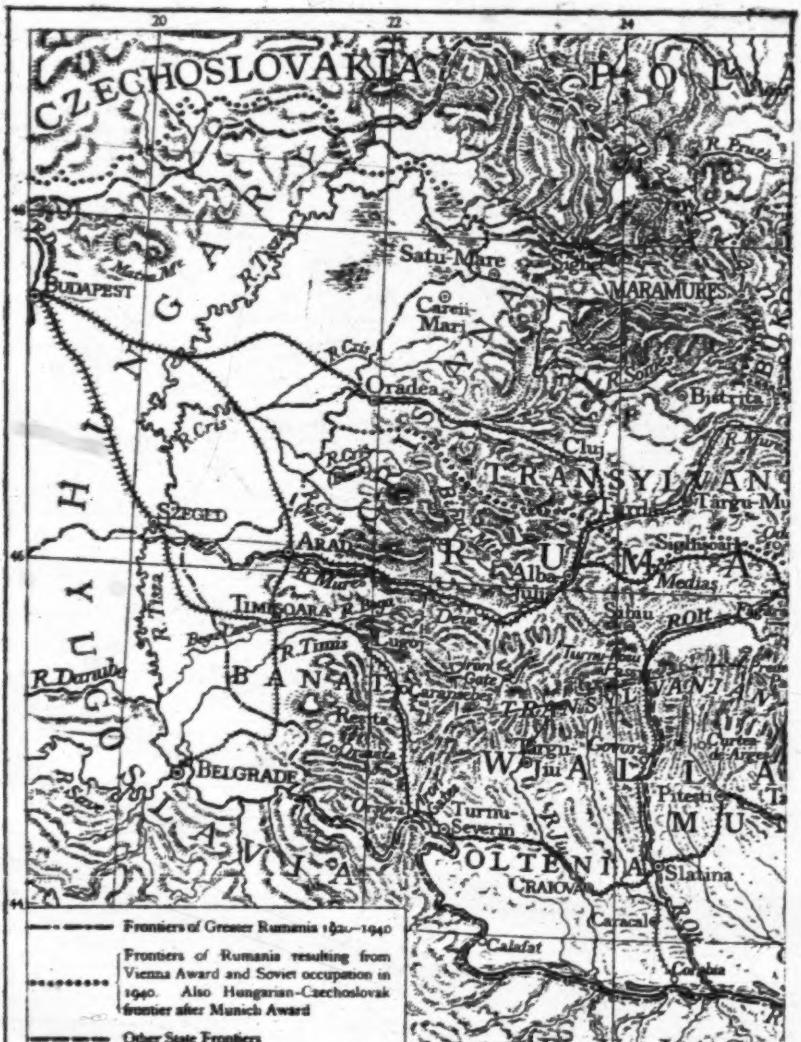
12: Kormos S-4,5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

102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R. Prut
R. Somes
20
22
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Frontiers of Greater Rumania 1920–1940
Frontiers of Rumania resulting from Vienna Award and Soviet occupation in 1940. Also Hungarian-Czechoslovak frontier after Munich Award
Other State Frontiers
Rumanian Provincial Frontiers

End map (A)

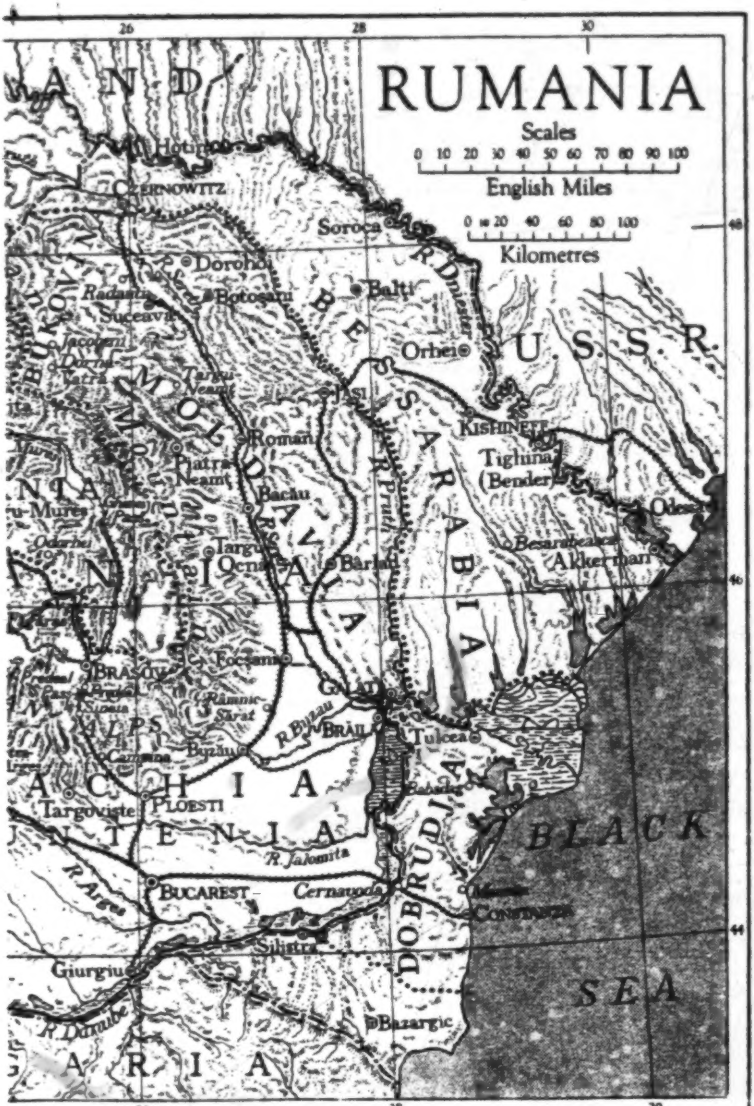
much by the Rumanian people as by the intervention 175
of Rumanian and foreign statesmen, whose interests 648
did not coincide with those of the majority of Rumanians. The history of Rumania during the period between the two Great Wars and during the present war is another and more vivid illustration of this passivity of a people, caught in the titanic struggle between Great Powers.

The economic and political effects of this development can be seen in the exploitation to which the people have been subjected for centuries, chiefly by foreign merchants and trusts, aided and abetted by a greedy and corrupt ruling class, and in the almost suicidal situation into which the nation has been manœuvred in recent times by its short-sighted leaders.

Psychologically, many centuries of political op- 181
pression and of economic exploitation have had an even more serious effect in the attitude of many sections of the people to life in general and to their own fate in particular. Generations of Rumanians have been methodically robbed of the fruits of their work for centuries. Their fate was not greatly affected by superficial changes, such as their elevation from serfs to peasants. This explains that they are reluctant to produce more food than they themselves can eat; for it is certain that the money-lender, the tax-collector, their own or some foreign army will take it from them. This fatalism, and the ignorance which their rulers have shown no great enthusiasm to remedy, explain the backwardness of the great masses of the people. But it would be quite wrong to assume that this implies an exhaustion of their latent powers. The Rumanians have often

12: Kormos S-4,5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

102


RUMANIA
Scales
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
English Miles
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
Kilometres
26
28
30
48
46
44
U. S. S. R.
BESSARABIA
MOLDAVIA
BUKOVINA
WALLACHIA
MUNTENIA
DOBRUDJA
BLACK SEA
Hotin
CZERNOWITZ
Soroca
Dorohoi
Botoşani
Balti
Radauti
Suceava
Jacobeni
Dorna Vatra
Targu Neamt
Orhei
Jasi
KISHINEFF
Roman
Piatra Neamt
Tighina (Bender)
Odessa
Bacău
Targu Ocna
Bârlad
Besarabeasca
Akkerman
Odorhei
Focşani
BRAŞOV
Rămnic Sărat
GALATI
BRĂILA
R. Buzau
Tulcea
ALPS
Buzău
Campina
Babadag
Targoviste
PLOESTI
R. Jalomita
R. Arges
BUCAREST
Cernavoda
Constantza
Silistra
Giurgiu
R. Danube
Bazargic
R. Prut
R. Dniester
BULGARIA

End map (B)